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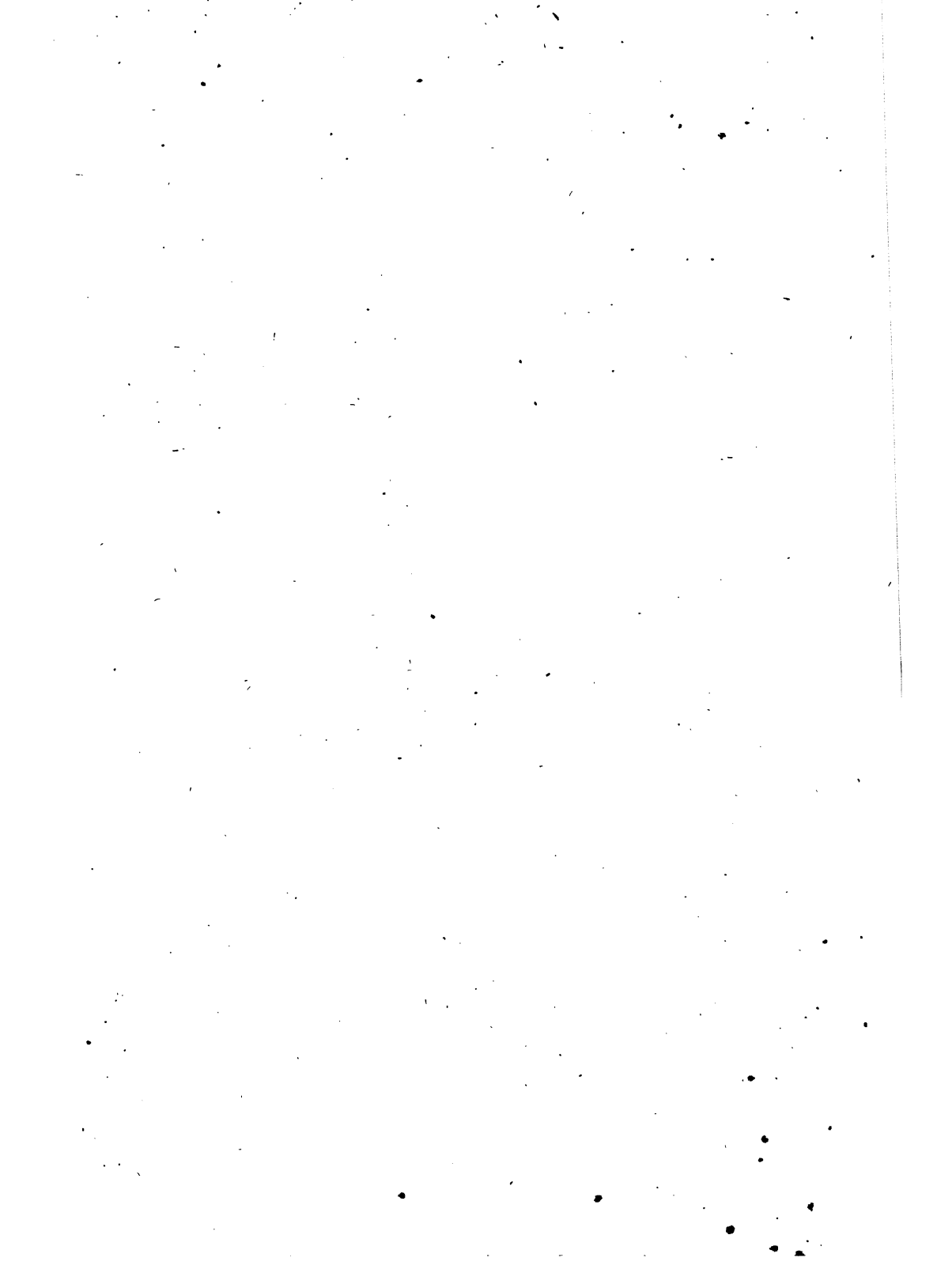
Humours of the Writer's Brain. To be false, to deceive, to lie, even in ordinary Discourse, are Vices commonly branded with much Infamy, and held in great Detestation by all good Men. And therefore certainly those that arrive at such a height of Impudence, as Magisterially to take upon them, not only to Abuse the present but future Ages, must needs render themselves justly odious. They stand responsible for other Mens Errors, and whereas in all other notorious Offenders, their Sin and their Life determines as farthest together: The Sin of these Men is perpetuated after their Decease, they speak when they are dead, make false Infusions into every Age, and court every new Person that shall many Years after cast his Eyes upon their Story to give belief to their Lies. Therefore for my own part when I first undertook this Task, I took up with it a Resolution most clearly to declare the Truth. I have cast up my Accounts, I have set up my Rest, and determine rather to displease any other Man than offend my own Conscience. I have neither private Reflections, nor foreign Ends; I am now as it were reduced into my first Principles, and have taken this Work upon me, merely out of publick Considerations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this present Age, as well as of Posterity, some certain Records and Monuments of the first Beginnings and fatal Progress of this Rebellion, together with the horrid Cruelties most unmercifully exercised by the Irish Rebels upon the British and Protestants within this Kingdom of IRELAND. That when God's time is come of returning it into the Bosoms of those who have been the first Plotters or present Actors therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with British, and settled in Peace again, (which I have even in our lowest Condition, with great Confidence attended, and do now most undoubtedly believe will ere long be brought to pass) there may be such a Course taken, such Provisions made, and such a Wall of Separation set up betwixt the Irish and the British, as it shall not be in their Power to rise up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to destroy and root them out in a Moment, before they be able to put themselves in a posture of Defence, or to gather together to make any considerable Resistance against their bloody Attempts.

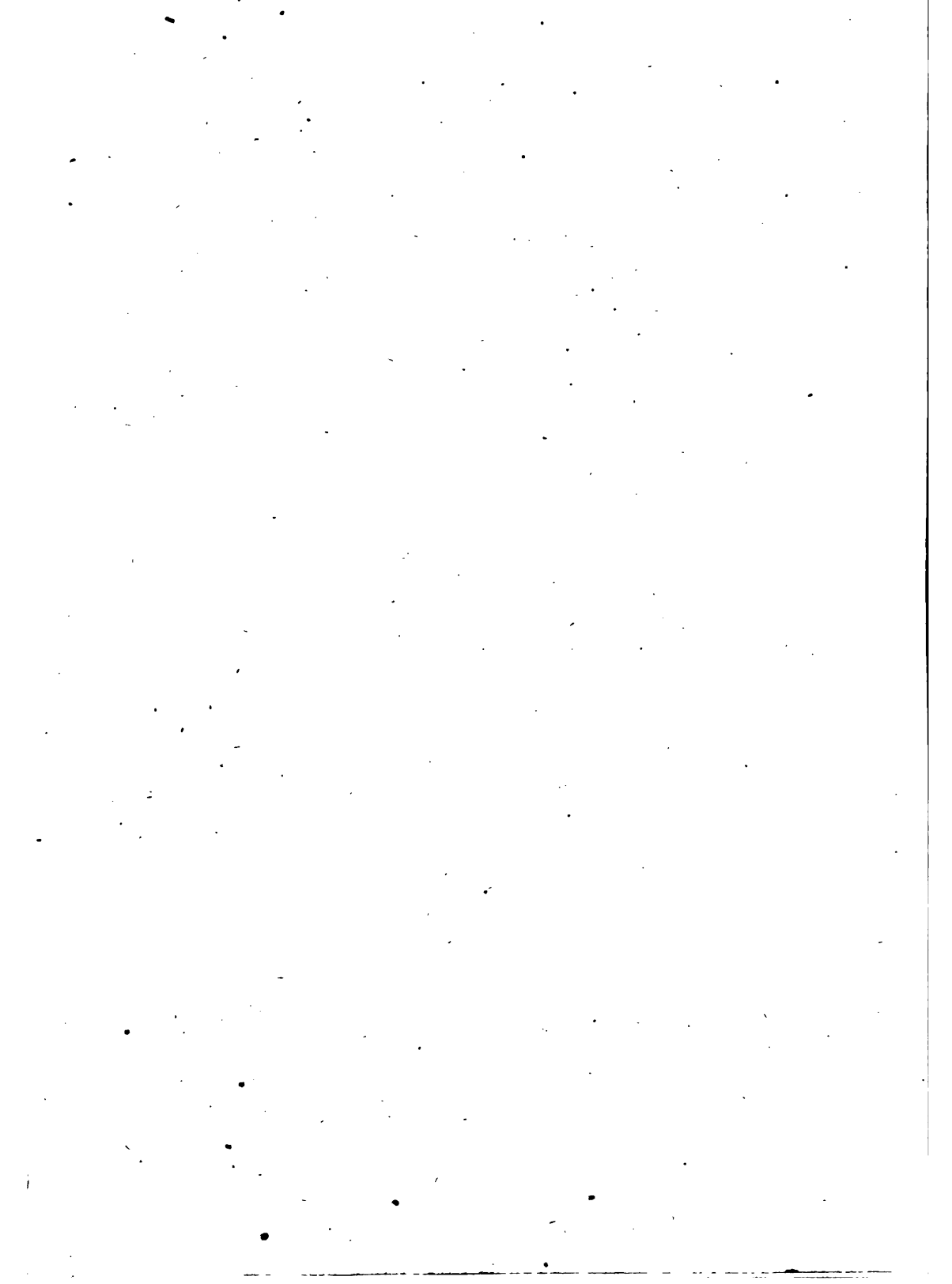
I shall not pretend to Entertain the Reader with Political Maxims, grave Sentences, or flourishing Orations: That which I hope will cover over a multitude of Imperfections, is the unquestionable Truth of what I shall set down in a plain and brief Narration of all the Causes and Proceedings held in the raising, as also in the first Attempts and Undertakings for the Suppression of this hideous Rebellion.

And that I might in some measure compass my Design herein, and give Satisfaction even to the most curious Inquirers after Truth, I did with great Care and Diligence turn over the very Originals or Authentick Copies of the Notorious Examinations remaining with the publick Register, and taken upon Oath,



Te







T H E

Irish Rebellion :

OR,

An HISTORY of the Beginnings, and First Progress of the General Rebellion Raised within the Kingdom of *IRELAND*, in the Year 1641.

TH E Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almost five Hundred Years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was presently after the first Conquest of it, planted with *English* Colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part become *Irish*. And therefore it hath again in this last Age been supplied with great Numbers of People drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to settle their Habitations in that Country. Now the most execrable Plot laid by the *Irish*, for the universal Extirpation of all these *British* and *Protestants*, the bloody Progress of their Rebellion within the compass of the first two Months; their horrid Cruelties, in most barbarously murdering, or otherwise destroying many Thousands of Men, Women and Children, peaceably settled, and securely intermixed among them, and that without any provocation, or considerable resistance at first made, I intend shall be the present subject of the first Part of this ensuing Story.

The *Irish* want not many Fabulous Inventions to magnifie the very first beginnings of their Nation. Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or some other more Eastern Nation that anciently inhabited *Spain*, came and sate down first in *Ireland*, I shall not much trouble my self here to enquire. If we should give credit to the *Irish* Chronicles or their Bards (who deliver no certain truths) we might find stuff enough for an ancient

B

Pedigree,

The Original of the *Irish*.



ROY V. B.
JAN
1938

The IRISH Rebellion.

(e) *Dermot Mac-Morrough* King of *Leinster* (being by the Kings of *Conaght* and *Mouth* enforced to fly his country) made his repair directly to *Henry II.* King of *England*, then personally attending his Wars in *France*, and with much earnestness implored his aid for the recovery of his Territories in *Ireland*, most injuriously, as he pretended, wrested out of his hands. The King refused to imbarque himself in this quarrel: Yet graciously recommended the Justice of his cause to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents assured them that whosoever would afford the said *Mac-Morrough* assistance towards his resettlement, should not only have free liberty to transport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable service, therein (f). Hereupon *Earl Strangebow* first engaging himself, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his restitution with the utmost force he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at *Bristol*, where *Mac-Morrough* came unto him, in his passage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a transaction made by *Mac-Morrough* of his Kingdom of *Leinster* unto the Earl, upon his Marriage with his only daughter *Eva*. And so he being desirous to return speedily into his own Country, passed to *St. Davids*, in *South-Wales*, from whence is the shortest passage out of *England* into *Ireland*; and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this service: These by their power among their Country-men in those parts, having gotten together a party of 400 men, transported them in three ships into *Ireland*, landing at the *Bunne*, a little creek near *Featherd*, in the county of *Wexford*, and there joyning with some forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morrough*, made their first attempt upon the town of *Wexford*, they were gallantly seconded by *Earl Strangebow*, who followed presently after with no very considerable forces; And yet by the power of their arms, within a very short time prevailed so far in the country, as they made themselves masters thereof, and so gained the possession of all the maritime parts of *Leinster*.

*Camb.
cap. 1.*

King *Henry* upon the news of their prosperous success in the sudden reducement of so large a territory by such inconsiderable forces as they carried with them; desirous to share with his subjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of so great an action, undertook an expedition in his own person into *Ireland* the year following. And so strange an influence had the very presence of this great Prince into the minds of the rude savage Natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace and favour in receiving of them in upon their fained submissions most humbly tendred unto him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided people.

*K. Hen
II. his
petition
into Ir
land. A
1172.*

(e) The black book of Christ-church in *Dublin*, it is an ancient Manuscript kept there.
(f) *Senosfram ad hoc tam gratiam noveris quam licentiam obtinere. Gir. Cambren. expugnat.*
Hib. c. 1. B 2 The

1641.

The first beginnings of the Conquest of this Kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this King, in the year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land it self, he found it good and flourishing with many excellent commodities, plentiful in all kinds of provision, the soil rich and fertile, the Air sweet and temperate, the Havens very safe and commodious, several Towns and little Villages scattered up and down in the several parts of the Country; but the buildings so poor and contemptible, as when that King arrived at *Dublin* their chief City, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, (f) he set up a long house made of smoothed wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Christmas. All their Forts, Castles, stately buildings and other edifices were afterwards erected by the *English*, except some of their maritime Towns which were built by the *Ostmanni* or *Esterlings* who anciently came and inhabited in *Ireland*.

(g) Moreover he found likewise by several monuments of piety, and other remarkable testimonies, that Christian Religion had been long since introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the land. It is not certainly without some good grounds affirmed by ancient writers, that in the fourth age after the incarnation of our blessed Lord and Saviour, some holy and learned men came over out of foreign parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious desires to propagate the blessed Gospel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, and besides several others, *Patrick* the famous *Irish* Saint, (a *Britain* born at a place now called *Kirk-Patrick* near *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, then the utmost boundary of the *Britains* dominions in those parts,) who out of meer devotion came and spent much of their time among the *Irish*, and out of their zealous affections for the conversion of a barbarous people, applied themselves with great care and industry to the instructing of them in the true grounds and principles of Christian Religion. And with so great success, and such unwearied endeavours did St. *Patrick* travel in this work, as (if we will give credit to some writers) we must believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal See, three hundred and fifty Bishops consecrated, great numbers of Clergy-men instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious impiety and continued prophaneness of the common sort of people) being most of them Monks by vow and profession, of great learning, very austere and strict in their discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in respect of them some gave

(f) *Reg. Hoveden* calls it *Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patrii illius constructum. fol. 528.* (g) Christian Religion settled in *Ireland*, by *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, *Patrick* in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour.

unto the Island the denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But so quickly did the power of holiness decay in the land, as the name was soon lost, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very Clergy themselves obliterated; the life of the people so beastly, their manners so depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the first thoughts of transferring his Arms over into *Ireland*, (b) made suit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer *Ireland*, and reduce those beastly men unto the way of truth. Answerable whereunto was the tenor of Pope *Adrian's* Bull, as appears at large in *Parisiensis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and subdue the *Irish* Nation. A sufficient demonstration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy Father the Pope as other Princes. And the King at his arrival found them no other than a beastly people indeed: For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no settled law, living like beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, customs, or reasonable constitutions, either for regulation of Property, or against open force and violence, most notorious murders, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barbarism, raging without controul or due course of punishment. Whereupon, he, without any manner of scruple, or farther inquisition into particular titles, resolving as it seems to make good by the sword the Pope's donation, made a general seizure of all the lands of the whole Kingdom, and so without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

(i) And that he might the more speedily introduce religion and civility, and so draw on towards the accomplishment of that great work which he had so gloriously begun, he first, in a great Council held at *Lissemore*, caused the laws of *England* to be received and settled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards united it to the imperial Crown of *England*, (k) making large distributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole land of *Ireland* among the *English* Commanders, who made estates, and gave several shares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them. But before I pass further, I shall take the liberty here to insert one observation out of *Giraldus Cambrensis* concerning the cause and reasons of the prosperity of the *English* undertakings in *Ireland*. He saith, that a Synod, or Council of the

(b) *Rex Anglorum Hen. nuncios solennes Romam mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut sibi liceret Hiberniam Insulam intrare, & terram subjungere, atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem, & vitam reducere veritatis.* Mat. Paris. Anno 1156. (i) *Rex antequam ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Lismore, ubi leges Anglie ab omnibus grater sunt acceptae & juratoria cautione preestita confirmata.* Mat. Paris. An. 1172. (k) *Ireland divided by K. Hen. II. among his followers, and other adventurers.*

1041. Clergy, being there assembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed by them all, that the sins of the people were the occasion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that especially their buying of *English-men* from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a most miserable hard bondage, had caused the Lord by way of just retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *English* to the same slavery. (k) Whereupon they made a publick act in that Council, that all the *English* held in captivity throughout the whole land, should be presently restored to their former liberty. If so heavy a judgment fell then upon the *Irish* for their hard usage of some few *English*, what are they now to expect? Or what expiation can they now pretend to make for the late effusion of so much innocent *English* blood, after so horrid, despiteful and execrable a manner? (l) There being since the Rebellion first broke out, unto the time of the Cessation made Sept. 19, 1643. which was not full two years after, above 300000 *British* and *Protestants* cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation, of those who seemed best to understand the numbers of *English* planted in *Ireland*, besides those few which perished in the heat of fight, during the war.

(m) King *John* came into *Ireland* during his minority, though to little purpose, but after, about the twelfth year of his Reign, upon the general defection of the *Irish*, he made a second expedition, and during his stay there, built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain unto this day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the settlement of the *English* Colonies, as also of the civil Government. King *Richard II.* made likewise in the time of his Reign, upon the same occasion two other expeditions into *Ireland* in his own person. But both those Princes out of a desire to spare the effusion of *English* blood, as also the expence of treasure, being likewise hastned back by the distempers of their own subjects in *England*, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the fained submissions of the *Irish*, who finding their own weakness, and utter disability to resist the power of those two mighty Monarchs, came with all humility even from the farthest parts of the Kingdom, to submit to their mercy. And yet it is well observed by some that say they returned back, not leaving one true subject more behind them, than they found at their first arrival.

(k) *Decretum est itaque predicto concilio, & cum Universitatis consensu publice Sanatum: ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocarentur libertatem.* *Gra. Cam. expug. Hib. cap. 18.* (l) The numbers of *British* and *Protestants* destroyed since the Rebellion (m) The fruitless expeditions of *K. John*, and *K. Rich. II.* into *Ireland*.

Howsoever by the very presence of these Princes, and by the careful endeavours of the Governours sent over by other of the Kings of *England*, those that were Adventurers in the first Conquest, and such others of the *English* Nation as came over afterwards took possession by virtue of the former grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Irish* in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in all the plain and fertile place of the Country, especially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coasts. And to such a height of power and greatness had some of those first adventuring Commanders raised themselves here by reason of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited jurisdictions and priviledges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the sumptuous dependance they had, as that they began to look upon their own possessions as circumscribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animosities against each other, to draw in the *Irish* (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not ashamed to use their assistance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their opposites, though their own compatriots and jointenants in the possession of that good land. (n) The *Irish* were very glad to entertain this occasion, and did ever foment by their utmost power and artifice these unnatural broils and dissensions among the *English*, whom they most mortally hated. For they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the *English* Laws and Government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; and besides those Septs of *Irish* which were termed the (a) *Quinque familie* (who notwithstanding the great priviledges they enjoyed by the protection of the *English* Laws, ever shewed much averseness both to the *English*, and their Laws.) No other persons of any *Irish* families, from the very first conquest of *Ireland* in the time of *Henry II.* until the reign of King *Hen. 8.* were admitted into the condition of Subjects, or received any benefit by the *English* Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And so they living upon the mountains, in the bogs, and woods, though at first after some sort divided from the *English*, did take all occasions to declare their malice and hatred against the *English* colonies planted near unto them.

But howsoever the *English* were in all ages infested with their *Irish*

(n) The ancient malice of the *Irish* to the *English*. (a) *Quinque familie*. O. Neale de Ultonia. O. Malabgin de Melin. O. Conner de Conacia. O. Brien de Thomondia. Mac-Morough de Lagaria.

1641. enemies, yet were they certainly in point of interest and universal possession, owners and proprietors of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. They kept themselves in entire bodies almost for the first hundred years after their arrival, not suffering the *Irish* to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and subjection to the Crown of *England*. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their habitation, and to suffer the *Irish* to intermingle with them, and their *English* followers to familiarize themselves, into their beastly manners and customs (for prevention of which mischief, (p) many severe Laws were enacted in after ages,) yet for some time they made good the rights and possessions they had gotten by conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the *English* Laws, Language, Habit and Customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out Charters of Denization; yet such ever was, and still is the rough rebellious disposition of the people, their hatred so implacable, their malice so unappeasable to all the *English* Nation, as no Laws or gentle Constitutions would work, no publick benefits, temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation: But they have in all times continued to take all advantages as well since they were admitted into the condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as enemies, most perfidiously, to rise up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their *English* Neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unsatiated sepulcher of the *English* Nation. (q) For what by reason of their own intestine broils, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the *Irish*) most barbarously degenerate into all their manners and customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous attempts of the *Irish* upon them: We shall not find that the *English*, from the first access into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the Reign of

(p) By the Statutes made at *Kilkenny* by Lionel Duke of Clarence, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the time of *Edw. III.* Alliance by marriage, nurture of Infants, and gossipred with the *Irish* are high treason. And if any *Englishman* should use the *Irish* language, *Irish* name, or *Irish* apparel, his lands should be seized on, and if he had no lands, he was to suffer imprisonment. *Archæ. in castro Dublin.* Statutes of *Kilkenny*. (q) In that space of time which was between the 10 year of *Edw. II.* and the 30 year of *Edw. III.* all the old *English* colonies in *Connaught*, *Ulster*, and more than a third part of *Leinster* became degenerated, and fell away from the Crown of *England*, so as the *English* Pale remained only under the obedience of the Law.

Queen *Elizabeth*, (a tract of time containing above 380 years) had any 1641. settled peace or comfortable subsistence, but were in most perpetual combustions and troubles, so extremely harrassed and over-worn with misery, as they were not long likely to survive the universal calamity that had overspread the face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that blessed Queen, out of her pious intentions, and good The affections to her people, applied her self with great care to redress the disorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very beginning of her Reign, sending over prudent and religious Governours, the work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholesome Laws enacted against the barbarous Customs of the *Irish*; and the execution of Justice (which a long time continued within the limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Connaught*, *Ulster*, and other remote Parts of the Land at some intervals of quiet times. The *Irish* Countries were reduced into Shires; and Sheriffs, with some other Ministers of Justice placed in them: The pretended Captainships, and those high powers usurped by the *Irish*, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into such a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and Possessions were settled in a due course of Inheritance; those most destructive customs of (a) *Tanestry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; The two Presidential Courts of *Munster* and *Connaught* were then instituted, and special order taken that Free-schools might be erected in the several Diocesses throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth. But these acts, and other courses tending to the advancement of true Religion, and Civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose humours of the Natives, who apprehended even the most gentle means of reformation, as sharp corro-

(a) The Lands belonging to the *Irish*, were divided into several territories, and the Inhabitants in every *Irish* Country were divided into several Septs or Lineages—In every *Irish* Country, there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Tanist, which was his Successor apparent. None could be chosen Tanist, but one issued out of the chief Septs—The Seignory and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not descend from Father to Son, or upon default of Issue to him that was next of kin: But he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused himself to be chosen Tanist; and if he could not compass his desires by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it were heir apparent, came into possession upon the death of the chief Lord—Now for the inferior Septs, they held their Lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a sort; for after the death of every one of his Tenants which held any Land under him, he assembled the whole Septs, and having put all their possessions together in hotch potch, made a new partition among them, not assigning to the Son of him that died, the Land held by his Father, but altering every mans possession at his own pleasure, and according to his own discretion: He, upon the death of every inferior Tenant, made a general remove, and so allotted to every one of the Sept such part as he thought fit. And this was the *Irish* Gavelkind. Sir John Davies Rep. fol. 49.

1641. ding medicines; and thereupon pretending the burthen of the *English* government most insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their liberty(c). Several plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old *English* by extraction: Divers Rebellions and petty Revolts raised during Her Majesty's most happy Reign: That of *Shan O Neal*, the Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Baltinglas*, *O Burke*, and several others at other times, were all set on foot for this very end, and all timely suppressed, partly by the power of the Queen's forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the Chieftains to mercy. And she, as most unwearied with their never ceasing provocations, still went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous customs: As several of the great Lords who had been out in Rebellion, were restored to their lands and possessions, others she suffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others she bestowed new titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to such an excessive charge, as the full conquest of *Ireland* would most necessarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could minister any hopes of civilizing the people, or settling the present distractions of the Kingdom.

The
Irish not to
be re-
claimed by
gentle
means.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble forms, those ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the perverse dispositions of the *Irish*: the malignant impressions of irreligion and barbarism, transmitted down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or natural generation, had irrefragably stiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of Reformation: They continued one and the same in all their wicked customs and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred against all of the *English* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, destruction, and utter extirpation.

Tyrone's
rebellion.

And that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their unpleasing company, and disburthen the whole Kingdom of them and their posterity, they still entertained new thoughts, and had now brought unto perfection a design long meditated in their breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their subjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that desperate Rebellion raised almost through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh* Earl of *Tyrone*, who after titles of Honour, received a command given by the Queen unto him both of Horse and

(c) Nonnulli ex claris in Lagenia familiis & plerique Anglica originis partim ex Romana religionis studio, partim ex odio recentium Anglorum conspirare caperant: ad proregem, cum familia opprimendum, castrum Dublinense intercepturum, & Anglos in Hibernia ad unum è medio tollendos. Camden. Eliz. Ann. 22.

Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, and other Princely favours conferred upon him; resolving at once to cancel all those Royal obligations of gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the *Irish* Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *English* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious undoubted Sovereign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venomous infusions of his malevolent spirit, uniting their whole interests and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raised all their dependants, and moved in several places according to the several orders and directions they received from him; and to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign Nations at the same time with considerable forces to invade the land.

So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dallied with, one Rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great clemency had been abused in suffering former rebellions to be smothered over and loosely pieced up with protections and pardons; that the receiving of the *Irish* upon their submissions, to avoid the charge of a War, did inevitably redouble the charge, and perpetuate the miseries of war: Therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to the work, and making choice of some of her most renowned *English* commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the prosecution of that Arch-traitour *Tyrone*, and with great success in a short time, though not without the expence of much *English* blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howsoever before this glorious work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a period to her days, yet lived she long enough to see just vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural disturber of the peace of the Kingdom, himself in a manner wholly deserted, his Country most miserably wasted, and a general desolation and famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the sword.

The ill effects of the submissions of the *Irish*.

It is very easy to conjecture in what a most miserable condition *Ireland* then was, the *English* Colonies being for the most part barbarously rooted out, the remainders degenerated into *Irish* manners and names, the very *Irish* themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiscontinued troubles. King *James* of blessed memory found it, at his first accession to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable estate; whereupon he presently took into his care the peaceable settlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the people: And conceiving that the powerful conjunction of *England* and *Scotland* would now over-aw the

The miserable condition of *Ireland* when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*.

1641. *Irish*, and contain them in their due obedience, he resolved not to take any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intitled unto by *Tyrone's* Rebellion; but out of his Royal bounty and Princely magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in it self, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this state, the Kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his Reign: Then did the Earl of *Tyrone* take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his Rebellious design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his devotion; but his plot failed; and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busie incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland*, and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: But by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon allayed, and *Tyrone* never returning, the peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and settled. King *James* hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those rebellious Traitors, caused their Persons to be Attainted, their Lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratifie the well affected Natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among *British* undertakers, who came over and settled themselves and many other *British* families in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Country, great numbers of *British* Inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace in the Country, in the plantation of several parts of *Leinster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their possessions. But howsoever the King was by due course of law justly intitled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was deliver'd over likewise into the hands of *British* Undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly, as they became of great security to the Country, and were a most special means to introduce civility in those parts: So as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly Buildings, and all manner of Improvements:

His le-
nity to-
wards the
Irish Re-
bels, and
his endea-
vours for
civil Re-
formati-
on.

ments; the People to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seem'd to 1641. be much satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government, and general tranquillity which they so happily enjoyed.

AND now of late such was the great Indulgence of King *Charles* King our Sovereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that *Charles's* in the Year 1640. upon their complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament, then sitting at *Dublin*, great readiness to redress by a Committee of Four Temporal ^(b) Lords of the Upper House, and the Grievances Twelve Members of the House of ⁽ⁱ⁾ Commons, with Instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*. He took their grievances into his presented unto him by the Royal Consideration, descended so far to their satisfaction, as that he *Irish* Commissioners, 1640. heard them himself, and made present provisions for their redress: And upon the Decease of *Mr. Wandsford*, Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy here under the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom (though then accused of High-Treason, and imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) his Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny-Weß*, and Sir *William Parsons*, Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*, yet soon after finding the choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by the Committee, he did at their motion cause the said Commission to be cancelled, and with their consent and approbation, placed the Government upon Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *Sir Will. John Borlace* Knight, Master of the Ordnance, both esteemed Persons *Parsons* of great integrity; and the Master of the Wards, by reason of his very and Sir long continued Employment in the State, his particular Knowledge of the *John Borlace* made Kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the People. They took Lords Justices. the Sword upon the 9th of *February*, 1640. and in the first place they applied themselves with all manner of gentle Lenitives to mollify the sharp They apply themselves to declared themselves against all such proceedings lately used, as they found themselves to any ways varying from the Common Law; they gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable ease to the and contentment of the People, freely assenting to all such Acts as really People.

(b) The Lords, L. Viscount *Gormanston*, L. Viscount *Kilmaloe*, L. Viscount *Castelo*, L. Viscount *Baltinglas*. (i) Commons; *Leinster*, *Nic. Plunket*, *Digby*, *Richard Fitzharret*, *Nic. Barnewall*, Esq; *Munster*, *Sir Hardress Waller*, *Jo. Welsh*, *Sir Donnogh Mac-Carry*, *Conaught*, *Robert Lynch*, *Geffry Brown*, *Thomas Burk*. *Ulster*, *Sir William Cole*, *Sir James Montgomery*.

1641. tended to a legal Reformation: They betook themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled in his Majesty's Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late Exorbitances (so bitterly decied in Parliament) of Paper-Petitions, or Bills in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-Board, or before any other by their Authority: They, by his Majesty's gracious Directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (there given in the Earl of *Strafford's* Time, and then in Collection) from 40000 *l.* each Subsidy, to 12000 *l.* a-piece, so low did they think fit to reduce them: And they were further content (because they saw his Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the *Irish* Agents full satisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives: The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unquestionably settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty Years immediately preceeding: The other was for the *relinquishment* of the Right and Title which his Majesty had to the four Counties in *Conaught*, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to *British* Undertakers; as also to some Territories of good extent in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the same Title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Justices and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just compliance with the seasonable desires of the people. And his Majesty, that he might further testify his own settled resolution for the continuation thereof with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament, still attending their dispatch, did about the latter end of May, 1641. declare *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*: He was heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a Person of excellent abilities by nature, great acquisitions from his own private industry and publick employment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publick pressures of the Common-wealth, and therefore most likely to prove a just and gentle Governour, most pleasing and acceptable to the people.

The
Earl of
Leicester
declared
Lord
Lieutenant
of
Ireland,
May 1641.

Moreover the Romish Catholics now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the over great indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars-general, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them, and without controul, exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them; they had their Priests, Jesuits, and Fryars, who were of late Years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy*, and other foreign parts, where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their Education. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private Gentlemens houses throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious Rites and Ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind.

1641.
The
Papists
permitted
privately
to enjoy
the free
Exercise
of their
Religion.

And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the *Irish* had been ever observed to bear unto the *English* Nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now lived together forty Years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perpetual Union between them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossiped, fostering (relations of much dearness among the *Irish*) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* affections and customs; and many *Irish*, especially of the better sort, having taken up the *English* language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the *English* commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and native Commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry, as Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and many others of the prime Leaders in this Rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* Tenants off their Lands, as some of them said to me (when I enquired the reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the Mountains, while they took in *English*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same. A matter that was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many,

The
good
agreement
between
the
Irish
and
English
in all
parts of
the Kingdom.

1641. many, as most highly conducing to the security of the *English* Interests, and Plantation among them. So as all these circumstances duly weighed, together with the removal of the late obstructions, the great increas of Trade, and many other evident Symptoms of a flourishing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wisest and best experienced in the affairs of *Ireland*, that the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely in all humane probability to continue, without any considerable interruption, in the present felicity and great prosperity it now enjoyed under the government of his Majesty that now reigneth.

The Par-
liament
adjourn-
ed, Aug.
1641.

The
Irish Com-
missioners
return out
of Eng-
land, and
land at
Dublin.

In *August* 1641. the Lords Justices and Council finding the Popish party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a height, as was scarcely compatible with the present Government, were very desirous to have an Adjournment made for three Months, which was readily assented unto, and performed by the Members of both Houses. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter end of *August*, and presently after their return they applied themselves to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and other Graces granted by his Majesty, made known unto the People by Proclamations, to be sent down into several parts of the Country; which while the Lords Justices took into their consideration, and sat daily composing of Acts to be passed the next Session of Parliament, for the benefit of his Majesty, and the good of his Subjects, they seemed with great contentment and satisfaction to retire into the Country to their several habitations, that they might there refresh themselves in the mean season.



The Discovery of the Conspiracy of the Irish, to seize upon the 1641. Castle and City of DUBLIN; and their general Rising at the same time, in all the Northern Parts of this Kingdom.

SUCH was now the State and present Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, such the great Serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the publick Affairs here; as that the late *Irish* Army raised for the Invasion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the singular care of the Lords Justices and Council brought into his Majesty's Stores within the City of *Dublin*; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noise of War remaining within these Coasts. Now while in this great calm the *British* continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this Land; while all things were carried on with great Temper and Moderation in the present Government, and all Men pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either Tumults or other Troubles, the differences between his Majesty and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about this time fairly composed and settled: There broke out upon the 23d of *October*, 1641. a most desperate and formidable Rebellion, and universal Defection and general Revolt; wherein not only all the meer *Irish*, but almost all the old *English* that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some Monuments hereof to Posterity, I shall observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress, of a Rebellion so execrable in it self, so odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, no Kingdom, no People can parallel the horrid Cruelties, the abominable Murders, that have been without number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the *British* Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex or Age, of what Quality or Condition soever they were.

And first I must needs say, howsoever I have observed in the nature of the *Irish* such a kind of dull and deep reservedness, as makes them with much silence and secrecy to carry on their business: Yet I cannot but consider with great admiration how this mischievous Plot which was to be so generally at the same time, and at so many several places acted, and therefore necessarily known to so many several Persons, should without any noise be brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of Execution without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of Persons who were generally designed (as most of them

The happy Condition of *Ireland* at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, *October* 23. 1641.

The first Plot for the Rebellion carried on with so great Secrecy, as none of the *English* had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

1641. did) to perish in it. For besides the uncertain presumptions that Sir *Will. Cole* had of a commotion to be raised by the *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster* about a fortnight before this Rebellion broke openly out, and some certain intelligence which he received of the same two days before the *Irish* rose; I could never hear that any *English* Man received any certain notice of this Conspiracy, before the very Evening that it was to be generally put in Execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the *Irish*, did write a Letter to the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 11th of *Octob.* 1641, wherein he gave them notice of the great resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, in the County of *Tyrone*, as also to the house of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, and that by several suspected persons, for instruments for mischief. As also that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made several journeys into the Pale, and other places, and had spent his time much in writing Letters, and sending dispatches abroad. These Letters were received by the Lords Justices and Council, and they in answer to them required him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick Service of the State. And for that which was revealed to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21st of *Octob.* the same Month, by *John Cermacke*, and *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cobanought*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the resolutions of the *Irish*, to seize upon his Majesty's Castle and City of *Dublin*, to Murder the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Protestants there, and to seize upon all the Castles, Forts, Sea-ports, and Holds that were in possession of the Protestants within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find by the Examination of *John Cermacke*, taken upon oath at *Westminster*, Nov. 18, 1644, That the said Sir *William Cole* did dispatch Letters to the Lords Justices and Council the same day to give them notice thereof. But I can also testify that those Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried, I cannot say) came not unto their hands; as also that they had not any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22d. of *October*, in the very evening before the day appointed for the surprize of the Castle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conspirators being many of them arrived within the City, and having that day met at the *Lion Tavern* near *Copper-Alley*, and there turning the Drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next mornings work: *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true Protestant Religion, came unto the Lord Justice *Parsons* about nine of the clock that evening, and made him

Owen O Conally discovers the Conspiracy of the *Irish* to the Lord *Parsons* the very Evening before it was to be executed.

a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing upon His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*: He gave him the names of some of the chief Conspirators, assured him they were come up expressly to the Town for the same purpose, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented, and that he had understood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of a matter that seemed so incredible in it self, as that his Lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that time. But howsoever the Lord *Parsons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much certainty of the Plot, with as many particular circumstances, as he could, straitly charging him to return back unto him the same evening. And in the mean time, having by strict commands given to the Constable of the Castle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as also with the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to make stay of all strangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the Lord *Borlace's* house without the Town, and there acquainted him with what he understood from *Conally*. They sent for such of the Cotneil as they knew then to be in the Town. But there came only unto them that night Sir *Thomas Rottheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with these they fell into consultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of *Conally*. And finding that he staid somewhat longer then the time prefixed, they sent out in search after him, and found him seized on by the watch, and so he had been carried away to prison, and the discovery that night disappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parson's* Servants expressly sent amongst others to walk the streets, and attend the motion of the said *Conally*, come in and rescued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* house. *Conally* having somewhat recovered himself from his distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the Plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more easily get away from him (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these farther particulars set down in his Examination, as followeth.

The Examination of Owen O Conally Gentleman, taken before us whose Names ensue, Octob. 22. 1641.

1641. *W*HO being duly sworn, and examined, saith, That he being at Monimore, in the County of London-Derry on Tuesday last, he received a Letter from Colonel Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Conaught in the County of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday and Thursday last, whereupon he, this Examinee came to Conaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither: He came thither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the Boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the Town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said Hugh his lodging. He saith, that at the Lord Mac-Guire his lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night great numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Irish Papists from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himself had determined to take the Castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his Majesty's Ammunition there to morrow morning, being Saturday, and that they intended first to batter the Chimnies of the said Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not joyn with them. He further saith, that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to morrow morning by ten of the clock, and that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed this night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it: And further saith, that he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own estate; who said he could not help it, but said, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a priviledge by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his Lodging that Night, but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the Castle, and said, if this matter were discovered, some body should die for it, whereupon this Examinee feigned some necessity for his easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him, and when this Examinee came down into the Yard, and finding

ing an opportunity, he, this *Examinee* leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, 1641. and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.

Octob. 22. 1641.

William Parsons,
Tho. Rotheram,
Rob. Meredith.

Owen O Conally.

Hereupon the Lords took present order to have a Watch privately set upon the lodging of *Mac-Mahon*, as also upon the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and so they sate up all that night in *consultation*, having far stronger *presumptions* upon this latter *examination* taken, than any ways at first they could entertain. The Lords Justices upon a further consideration (there being come unto them early next morning several other of the Privy Council) sent before day, and seized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own lodging; they at first made some little resistance with their drawn swords, but finding themselves over-mastered, presently yielded, and so they were brought before the Lords Justices and Council still sitting at the Lord *Borlace's* House: Where upon examination he did without much difficulty confess the Plot resolutely, telling them, That on that very day all the Forts and strong Places in *Ireland* would be taken. That he with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Capt. *Brian O Neal*, and several other *Irish* Gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*. That twenty Men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them. That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were Papists were engaged in this Plot. That what was that day to be done in other parts of the Country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of Man to prevent it; and withal told them, That it was true, they had him in their power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged.

Mac-Mahon taken.

His Confession.

By this time the noise of this Conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the Town, and advertisement was brought unto the Lords Justices then in Council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come the last Evening, and in the Morning early unto the Town, and most of them to set up their horses in the Suburbs: Whereupon the Lords having in the first place taken order for the apprehension of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themselves for their better security unto the Castle, where the body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the first place they caused a present search to be made for all such Horses belonging to strangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they discovered

The Lord *Mac-Guire* with several other of the Conspirators seized.


1641. vered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon and committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the custody of the Constable there, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Makon*. *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moor*, chief of the Conspirators, escaped over the River in the night; Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with several others found means likewise to pass away undiscerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of several Counties to be Actors in taking of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty seized upon, most of them Servants and inconsiderable Persons, those of Quality having so many good Friends within the Town, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The same day before the Lords rose from Council, they took order for this *Proclamation* which here followeth to be made and published.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

THeſe are to make known and publiſh to all His Maſteſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, that there is a diſcovery made by Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended by ſome evil-affected Irish Paſiſts, againſt the Lives of Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, and many other of His Maſteſty's faithful Subjects, univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of His Maſteſty's Caſtle of Dublin, His Maſteſty's principal Fort here, but alſo of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom. And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Maſteſty, and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpirators committed to the Caſtle of Dublin, by Us, by His Maſteſty's Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof: We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Maſteſty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves, and all the Kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe Us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurrences, which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always ſhown for the publick Services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Maſteſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And We require that great care be taken that no Lowies of Men be made for foreign Service, nor any Men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch

such pretence. Given at His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 23d of *Sept.* 1641.
her, 1641. 

*R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus. J. Temple, Tho. Rotheham,
Fr. W. Houghby. J. Ware, Ro. Meradith.*

God Save the King.

Imprinted at DUBLIN, by the Society of Stationers.

This Proclamation was presently printed, and several Copies sent down by express Messengers unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in several parts of the Country, where they caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely discovery of this Conspiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove to great a discouragement to such of the Conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their Duty and Obedience to his Majesty. The same Night the Lord *Blaney* arrived with the News of the surprisal of his House, his Wife, and his Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan*: Next day came Advertisements from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the taking of *Newry*; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible Murders committed within the Province of *Ulster*, began to multiply, and several Persons every day and almost every hour in every day for a good while after, arrived like *Job's* Messengers, telling the story of their own Sufferings, and the fearful Massacres of the poor *Eng-lish* in those parts from whence they came. These things wrought such a general Consternation and Astonishment in the Minds of all the *Eng-lish* and other Inhabitants well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the *Irish* already crept into the Town, joining with the Papists there, should make the City a Theatre whereon to act the second part of that Tragedy most bloodily begun in the Northern Parts by them.

And it added most extremely to these present Fears, that several unhappy Rumours (the great Tormenters of the weaker Sex) were vainly spread abroad of the sudden approach of great numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Irish* Counties unto the City: Some would make us believe that they were discerned at some distance already marching down from the Mountain side within view of the Town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be Eye-witnesses, that it drew some

The Irish rise first in the Province of *Ulster*, and there burn, spoil, and destroy the *Eng-lish*.

False rumours spread of the Rebels approach to the City of *Dublin*.

of

1641. of the State up to the Plat-form of the Castle to behold those who were yet invisible, though there were there that would not be persuaded but that they saw the very motions of the Men as they marched down the Mountains. It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10000 of the Rebels gotten together in a Body at the Hill of *Tarah*, a place not above sixteen Miles distant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to march on and presently surprize the same. These false Rumours being unluckily spread, and by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the People, and raised such a panick fear among them; as about seven of the Clock at Night, the Lords Justices and some of the Council being then in the Council-Chamber within the Castle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good quality, who having not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Castle, caused the Warders then attending to draw up the Bridge, assuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the Town, and came now with great fury marching down the Street that leads directly towards the Castle-Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that day made Governour of the Castle, caused the Draw-Bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false Alarm occasioned by some mistake fallen among the People, who continued waving up and down the Streets, prepossessed with strange fears, and some of them upon some slender Accident drawing their Swords; others that knew not the cause thought fit to follow the Example, and so came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their Company, as so many Rebels coming up to enter the Castle.

The Lords Justices and Council consult what course to take for the suppressing this Rebellion. These were the first beginnings of our Sorrows, ill symptoms, and sad preparatives to the ensuing Evils: Therefore the Lords finding by several Intelligences, though some purposely framed, that the power of the Rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk, and likely so fast to multiply and increase upon them, thought it high time to consider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent so eminent a danger. The Rebellion now appeared without all manner of question to be generally raised in all parts of the North, and like a Torrent to come down most impetuously upon them: Besides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the Kingdom would take fire and follow their Example; they had the Testimony of *Mac-Mabon* positive therein. The first thing therefore which they took into consideration, was, how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Munition; then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse of the old Army they were able to draw presently together; as also what numbers of new

new Men they could suddenly raise. For the first, they had this short account from the Vice-Treasurer, That there was no Money in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main Policy in the first Contrivers of this Rebellion, to plot the breaking of it out at such a time when the Exchequer should be empty, and all the King's Revenues both certain and casual, due for that half Year, as well as the Rents of all the *British* throughout the Kingdom, should be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors hands in the Country, and so necessarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently well furnished at this time: Besides several Pieces of Artillery of divers sorts, most of them fitted for present service; there were Arms for near 10000 Men, 1500 Barrels of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the Earl of *Strafford*, late Lord Lieutenant, not long before, and designed another way, but so opportunely reserved for this service, as the good Providence of God did exceedingly appear therein, but principally in the miraculous Preservation of them out of the hands of the Rebels, who made the surprisal of these Provisions, then all within the Castle of *Dublin* (the common Store-House of them) a main part of their design. The old standing Army, as appears by this List, consisted only of 41 Companies of Foot, and 14 Troops of Horse.

1641.
No Money in the Exchequer.



1641. A List of His Majesty's Army in Ireland, 1641. Before the Rebellion began.

Foot Companies, consisting of six Officers, viz. Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chyrurgeon, Serjeant and Drum, and forty four Soldiers each Company.

L ORD Lieutenant's Guard	44	Capt. Thomas Rockly	44
Sir Robert Farrar	44	Sir Arthur Tyringham	44
Sir Thomas Wharton	44	Capt. Philip Wenman	44
Sir George Saint-George	44	Capt. Charles Price	44
Capt. Francis Butler	44	Sir Charles Coote	44
Sir William Saint-Leguer	44	Capt. Thomas Games	44
Lord Docwra	44	Sir Francis Willoughby	44
Lord Blany	44	Sir John Borlace	44
Sir Robert Stewart	44	Capt. Robert Bailly	44
Lord Viscount Ramelagh	44	Sir Arthur Loftus	44
Lord Viscount Basinglas	44	Capt. William Billingsly	44
Sir John Vaughan	44	The Lord Esmond	44
Capt. George Blount	44	The Lord Lambert	44
Sir Henry Tichburn	44	Sir George Hamilton	44
Sir Frederick Hamilton	44	Lord Pollier	44
Lord Castle-Stewart	44	Sir William Stewart	44
Sir Lorenzo Cary	44	Capt. Robert Biron	44
Capt. Chichester Fortescue	44	Sir John Sherlock	44
Sir John Gifford	44	The Earl of Clanricard	44
Capt. John Barry	44	Capt. John Ogle	44
Sir John Netterville	44		

These Companies contain Officers ————— 246 }
 Soldiers ————— 2051 } In all } 2297.
 41 x 44 = 1804 }
 6 x 41 = 246 } Horse-Troops. 2050

T HE Earl of Leicester Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Horse-Men	180	Sir William Saint-Leguer, Lord President of Munster, the like	58
The Earl of Ormond's Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	107	Lord Viscount Moor, the like	58
The Earl of Strafford's Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	58	Lord Viscount Grandison, the like	58
Lord Dillon's Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	58	Lord Viscount Cromwel of Lecale, the like	58
Lord Wilmot's Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	58	Capt. Arthur Chichester, the like	58
		Sir George Wentworth, the like	58
		Sir John Borlace, the like	58
		Lord Viscount Conway, the like	58
		Sir Adam Loftus, the like	58

These Troops contain Officers ————— 42 }
 Horse-Men ————— 991 } In all } 943.

The

These were so strangely dispersed most of them into the remote parts of the Kingdom, for the guard of several Forts and other places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the City, or the making head against the Rebels in the North: And besides it was much to be suspected, the Companies lying severally so remote, and ill furnished with Munition, could with little safety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords sent Patents presently away to require several Companies of Foot, and some Troops of Horse presently to rise and march up from their several Garrisons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an account unto his Majesty then at *Edinburgh*, in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing still at *London* (the Parliament still sitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill condition of the Kingdom, the wants of the State, and the Supplies absolutely necessary for their present defence and preservation. And because the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth most clearly represent several particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the Affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

Letters from the Lords Justice and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Lordship,

ON Friday the Two and Twentieth of this Month, after Nine of the Clock at Night, this Bearer, Owen Conally, Servant to Sir John Clotworthy, Knight, came to me the Lord Justice Parsons to my House, and in great Secrecy (as indeed the cause did require) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable Conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be also acted by some evil-affected Irish Papists here. The Plot was on the then next Morning, Saturday the 23d of October, being St. Ignatius's day, about Nine of the Clock to surprize his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, his Majesty's chief Strength of this Kingdom, wherein also is the principal Magazine of his Majesty's Arms and Munition; and it was agreed it seems among them, that at the same hour all other his Majesty's Forts and Magazines of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, should be surprized by others of those Conspirators; and further, that all the Protestants and English throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not join with them, should be cut off, and so those Papists should then become possessed of the Government and Kingdom at the same instant.

As soon as I had that Intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the Lord Justice Borlace, and thereupon We instantly assembled the Council, and having sate all that Night, as also all the next Day, the 23d of October, in regard of the short time left us for the Consultation of so great and weighty a matter, although it was not possible for us upon so few hours warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same

1641. hour, and at so great a distance as in all the other parts of the Kingdom. Yet such was our industry therein, having caused the Castle to be that Night strengthened with armed Men, and the City guarded, as the wicked Counsellors of those evil Persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act that part of their Treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendered the rest of their Purposes the more easy.

Having so secured the Castle, We forthwith laid about for the Apprehension of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of them having come to this City but that Night, intending it seems the next Morning to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody Crimes.

The first Man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, Esq; (Grandson to the Traytor Tyrone) a Gentleman of good Fortune in the County of Monaghan, who with others, was taken that Morning in Dublin, having at the time of their Apprehension offered a little Resistance with their Swords drawn, but finding those We employed against them more in number, and better armed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at first denied all, but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by a Copy of his Examination herewith sent, may appear to your Lordship. We then committed him until We might have further time to examine him again, our Time being become more needful to be employed in Action for securing this Place, than in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the King of Spain as a Lieutenant Colonel.

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a Letter we received the Week before from Sir William Cole, a Copy whereof we send your Lordship here inclosed, we gathered that the Lord Mac-Guire was to be an Actor in surprizing the Castle of Dublin, wherefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His Lordship observing what we had done, and the City in Arms, fled from his Lodging early before day, it seems disguised; for we had laid a Watch about his Lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.

There were found at his Lodging hidden some Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and some Hammers.

In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we employed in strict search of his Lordship, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obscure House far from his Lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confessed that he had not advertised us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But we were

were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all Circumstances, as we doubted not upon further Examination, when we could be able to spare Time for it, to find it apparent: Wherefore we held it of absolute necessity to commit him close Prisoner, as we had formerly done Mac-Mahon, and others; where we left him on the three and twentieth of this Month in the Morning, about the same hour they intended to have been Masters of that Place, and this City. 1641.

That Morning also we laid wait for all those Strangers that came the Night before to Town, and so many were apprehended whom we find reason to believe to have hands in this Conspiracy, as we were forced to disperse them into several Goals: And we since found that there came many Horse-Men into the Suburbs that Night, who finding the Plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

When the hour approached, which was designed for surprising the Castle, great numbers of Strangers were observed to come to Town in great Parties several ways; who not finding Admittance at the Gates, staid in the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terrour of the Inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up instantly and signed a Proclamation, commanding all Men, not dwellers in the City and Suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it a-like penal to those that should harbour them; which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by our commandment: Which being accompanied with the Example and Terrour of the committal of those two eminent Men, and others, occasioned the departure of those Multitudes: And in this case, all our Lives and Fortunes, and above all, his Majesty's Regal Power and Authority being still at the Stake, we must vary from ordinary Proceedings, not only in executing Martial Law as we see cause, but also in putting some to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Treason, and all the Contrivers thereof, which we see will not otherwise be done.

On that twenty third day of this Month, we conceiving that as soon as it should be known that the Plot for seizing Dublin Castle was disappointed, all the Conspirators in the remote Parts might be somewhat disheartened, as on the other side the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence stand on their guard, did prepare to send abroad to all parts of the Kingdom this Proclamation which we send you here inclosed: And so having provided that the City and Castle should be so guarded as upon the sudden we could promise, we concluded that long continued Consultation.

On Saturday at Twelve of the Clock at Night the Lord Blany came to Town and brought us the ill News of the Rebels seizing with two hundred Men his House at Castle-Blany in the County of Monaghan, and his Wife, Children, and Servants; as also a House of the Earl of Essex, called Carrickmacross with two hundred Men, and a House of Sir Henry Spotswood in the same County, with two hundred Men; where there being a little Plantation of British, they plundered the Town and burnt divers Houses; and it since

1641. since appears that they burnt divers other Villages, and robbed and spoiled many English, and none but Protestants; leaving the English Papists untouched as well as the Irish.

On Sunday morning at three of the Clock, we had Intelligence from Sir Arthur Tyringham, that the Irish in the Town had that day also broken up the King's Store of Arms and Munition at the Newry, where the Store of Arms had lien ever since the Peace, and where they found fourscore and ten Barrels of Powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con Magennis, Knight, and one Creely a Monk, and plundered the English there and disarmed the Garrison. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.

However, we shall stand on our guard the best we may to defend the Castle and City principally, those being the Places of most importance. But if the Conspiracy be so universal as Mac-Mahon saith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have conspired in it, which we admire should so fall out in this time of universal Peace, and carried with that secrecy, that none of the English could have any Friend among them to disclose it, then indeed we shall be in high Extremity, and the Kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of Men, Money, and Arms, to enable us to encounter so great Multitudes as they can make, if all should join against us, the rather, because we have pregnant cause to doubt that the Combination hath taken force by the incitement of Jesuits, Priests, and Fryars.

All the hope we have here, is, the old English of the Pale, and some other parts, will continue constant to the King in their Fidelity, as they did in former Rebellions.

And now in these Straits, we must under GOD, depend on Aid forth of England for our present supply with all speed, especially Money, we having none, and Arms, which we shall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we shall give to the King of his Kingdom.

But if the Conspiracy be only of Mac-Guire and some other Irish of the Kindred and Friends of the Rebel Tyrone and other Irish in the Counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general Revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable measure, if we be enabled with Money from thence, without which we can raise no Forces, so great is our want of Money, as we have formerly written, and our Debt so great to the Army: Nor is Money to be borrowed here; and if it were, we would engage all our Estates for it: Neither have we any hope to get in his Majesty's Rents and Subsidies in these Disturbances, which add extremely to our Necessities.

On Sunday morning the twenty fourth, we met again in Council, and sent to all parts of the Kingdom, the enclosed Proclamation, and issued Patents to draw

draw hither seven Horse-Troops as a farther strength to this Place, and to be with us in case the Rebels shall make head and march hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them Battle. We also then sent away our Letters to the President of both the Provinces of Munster and Conaught: And we likewise then sent Letters to the Sheriffs of the Five Counties of the Pale, to consult of the best way and means of their own preservation. That day the Lord Vice Com. Gormanstoun, the Lord Vice Com. Nitterville, the Lord Vice Com. Fitz-Williams, and the Lord of Houth, and since the Earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the Lords of Dunfany and Slane, all Noblemen of the English Pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and professed Loyalty to his Majesty, and Concurrence with the State, but said they wanted Arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulness to the Crown: But we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our Strength for the guard of the City and Castle; yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger, with a small proportion of Arms and Munition for their Houses, lest they should conceive we apprehended any jealousy of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out Watches, and making all the Discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us, which they readily promised to do.

And if it fall out that the Irish generally rise, which we have cause to suspect, then we must of necessity put Arms into the hands of the English Pale in present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for defence of the State and Themselves.

Your Lordship now sees the Condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your Presence speedily for the better guiding of those and other the publick Affairs of the King and Kingdom. And secondly, that the Parliament there, be moved immediately to advance to us a good Sum of Money, which being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the Expence of very much Treasure and Blood in a long continued War. And if your Lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time; we must then desire your Lordship to appoint a Lieutenant General to discharge the great and weighty Burthen of commanding the Forces here.

Amidst these Confusions and Discords fallen upon us, we bethought us of the Parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the Term now also at hand, which will draw such a concourse of People hither, and give opportunity under that pretence of assembling and taking new Councils, seeing the former seems to be in some part disappointed, and of contriving further danger to this State and People: We have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be adjourned to the first of Hillary Term, excepting only the Court of Exchequer for hastning in the King's Money if it be possible. We desire upon this Occasion your Lordship will

1641. will be pleased to view our Letters concerning the Plantation of Conaught, dated the twenty fourth of April last, directed to Mr. Secretary Vane in that part thereof, which concerns the County of Monaghan, where now these Fires do first break out.

In the last place we must make known to your Lordship, that the Army we have, consisting but of 2000 Foot and 1000 Horse, are so dispersed in Garrisons in several parts, as continually they have been since they were so reduced, as if they be all sent for to be drawn together, not only the Places whence they are to be drawn (and for whose safety they lie there) must be by absence distressed; but also the Companies themselves coming in so small Numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their March; nor indeed have we any Money to pay the Soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave and remain, from his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 25th of October, 1641.

Your Lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, Can. R. Dillon, Anthony Midenfis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, J. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE said Owen Conally, who revealed the Conspiracy is worthy of very great Consideration, to recompence that Faith and Loyalty which he hath so extremely, to his own danger, expressed in this Business; whereby, under G.O.D, there is yet hope left us of Deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked Purposes of those Conspirators. And therefore we beseech your Lordship that it be taken into Consideration there, so as he may have a Mark of his Majesty's most Royal Bounty, which may largely extend to him and his Posterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.

W. Parsons.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord, Robert, Earl of Leinster, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland.

The Dispatch sent to his Majesty was addressed to Sir Henry Vane, 1641. principal Secretary, and carried by Sir Henry Spotswood, who went by Sea directly into Scotland: And the Letters to the Lord Lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O Conally, the first Discoverer of the Plot.

The Lords now with all care and diligence applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was possible, the destruction intended against all the British Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the security of the City, and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reason of their own wants both of Men and Money. They having formerly sent away and dispersed the Proclamations into several parts of the Country, now sent Letters by express Messengers unto the Presidents of Munster and Connaught, and to several principal Gentlemen in these two Provinces; as also to others within the Province of Leinster, giving them notice of the discovery of the Plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defence of the Country about them. They sent another Express to the Earl of Ormond, then at his House at Carick, with Letters to the same effect; and withal, desired his Lordship presently to repair unto them at Dublin with his Troop of Horse. They sent likewise Commissions to the Lords Viscounts of Clan-deboys and of the Ardes, for raising of the Scots in the Northern parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did also soon after to Sir William Stewart, and Sir Robert Stewart, and several other Gentlemen of quality in the North. And as they gave them order for prosecution of the Rebels with Fire and Sword, so they gave them power to receive such of them in, as should submit to his Majesty's Grace and Mercy. But these Dispatches they were enforced to send all by Sea, the Rebels having stopped up the Passages, and hindred all manner of intercourse with that Province by Land.

The Lords of the (a) Pale having been at the Council-Board, and there declared to the Lords Justices, with great protestations, their Loyal Affections unto his Majesty, together with their readiness and forward concurrence with their Lordships in this Service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordships, the deep sense they had of an expression in the late Proclamation, set out upon the discovery of this great Conspiracy intend-

The Lords of the English Pale repair to the Council-Board, and there declare their Loyal Affections to his Majesty.

(a) The English Pale is a large Circuit of Land possessed at the Time of the first Conquest of Ireland by the English, and ever since inhabited by them; it contains several Counties, viz. the Counties of Dublin, Meath, Leinster, Kildare, &c.

1641. ed, as is there set down, *By some evil affected Irish Papists*, which words they feared might be by some misinterpreted, and such a construction put upon them, as might reflect upon their Persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council thought fit, to descend so far to their satisfaction, as not only to remonstrate the clearness of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the World, they entertained not the least jealous thoughts of them, they caused a new Proclamation to be set out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those Lords and Gentlemen occasion to break out into those rebellious courses, they soon afterwards took to their own destruction.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

A Proclamation issued for the satisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale.

W Hereas a Petition hath been preferred unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Pale, and other the old English of this Kingdom, shewing that whereas a late Conspiracy of Treason is discovered of ill affected Persons of the old Irish, and that thereupon a Proclamation was published by Us; wherein, among other Things, it is declared that the said Conspiracy was perpetrated by Irish Papists without distinction of any; and they doubting that by those general words of Irish Papists, they might seem to be involved, though they declare themselves confident that we did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old Irish, nor of their Faction, or Confederacy; but are altogether averse and opposite to all their Designs, and all others of like condition; we do therefore to give them full Satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all his Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the words, Irish Papists, we intended only such of the old Irish in the Province of Ulster, as have plotted, contrived, and been Actors in this Treason, and others who adhere to them; and that we did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale, nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, we being well assured of their Fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good Affections and Services of their Ancestors in former Times of Danger and Rebellion. And we further require all his Majesty's loving Subjects, whether Protestants or Papists to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion, one against the other, and that upon pain of his Majesty's

Majesty's Indignation. Given at His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the 29th 1641.
of *October*, 1641.

*R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenfis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly,
Gerrard Lowther, J. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, J. Ware.*

God Save the King.

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But to return now to the Northern Rebels, who so closely pursued on their first Plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in most of the chief Places of strength there, upon the twenty third of *October*, the day appointed for the surprisal of the Castle of *Dublin*, had by the latter end of the same Month gotten into their possession all the Towns, Forts, Castles, and Gentlemen's Houses within the Counties of *Tyron*, *Donegal*, *Fermanagh*, *Armagh*, *Cavan*, *London-Derry*, *Monaghan*, and half the County of *Down*, excepting the Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*, the Town and Castle of *Inniskilling*, and some other Places and Castles which were for the present gallantly defended by the *British* Undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief, surrendered into their hands. The chief of the Northern Rebels that first appeared in the execution of this Plot within the Province of *Ulster*, were Sir *Phelim O Neal*, *Turlough O Neal*, his Brother, *Roury Mac-Guire*, Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir *Conne Mac-Gennis*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahan*; these having closely combined together, with several other of their Accomplices, the chief of the several Septs in the several Counties, divided their Forces into several Parties; and according to a general Affignation made among themselves at one and the same time, surpris'd by treachery the Town and Castle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Dungannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemont*, *Tonrags*, *Carrick-Mac-Rosse*, *Cloughcuter*, Castle *Blany*, Castle of *Monaghan*; being all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them Companies of Foot, or Troops of Horse belonging to the Standing-Army. Besides these, they took a multitude of other Castles, Houses of strength, Towns and Villages, all abundantly peopled with *British* Inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as themselves, by their painful Labours. They had made for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant Habitations, abounding with Corn, Cattle, and all other Commodities that an industrious People could draw out of a good inland Soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them very well stored

1641. stored with Plate and ready Money. They lived likewise in as great security, being quiet and careless, as the People of *Laisb*, little suspecting any treachery from their *Irish* Neighbours. The *English* well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of Love and Affection. No story can ever shew that in any Age since their intermixed Cohabitation, they rose up so secretly to do them mischief. And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together as they had just reason most confidently to believe, that the *Irish* would never upon any occasion generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason that

The great security and confidence of the *English* in the *Irish*, a great cause of their sudden destruction.

The *English* betrayed and murdered by their *Irish* Friends, Servants, and Tenants.

The intermixture of the *English* among the *Irish*, a main cause of their sudden destruction.

the *English* were so easily over-run within the Northern Counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of resistance in the very first beginnings of this Rebellion. For most of the *English* having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Irish* Neighbours their familiar Friends: As soon as the Fire brake out, and the whole Country began to rise about them, some made their recourse presently to their Friends for protection, some relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for preservation, or at least, present safety; and with great confidence put their Lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their power. But these generally either betrayed them into the hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands. The Priests had now charmed the *Irish*, and laid such bloody Impressions in them, as it was held, according to the Maxims they had received, a mortal Sin to give any manner of relief or protection, to any of the *English*. All Bonds and Ties of Faith and Friendship were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a Prey of their *English* Tenants; *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords and Masters; one Neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very *Irish* Children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* Children: All other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious Work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an *English* Man to the Slaughter. A Work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For they living promiscuously among the *British*, in all parts having from their Priests received the Watch-word both for Time and Place, rose up, as it were actuated by one and the same Spirit, in all places of those Counties before-mentioned at one and the same point of Time; and so in a moment fell upon them, murdering some, stripping only, or expelling others out of their Habitations. This bred such a general Terrour and Astonishment among the *English*, as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their Servants were killed as they were ploughing

ploughing in the Fields; Husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their Wives; their Childrens Brains dashed out before their Faces; others had all their Goods and Cattel seized and carried away; their Houses burnt; their Habitations laid waste, and all as it were at an instant before they could suspect the *Irish* for their Enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their Hearts, or in their Power, to offer so great Violence, or do such Mischief unto them. 1641.

Now for such of the *English* as stood upon their guard, and had gathered together, though but in small Numbers, the *Irish* had recourse to their ancient Stratagem, which as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present Rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of Quarter; to assure them their Lives, their Goods, and free Passage, with a safe Conduct into what place soever they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves dis-obliged from their Promises, and to leave their Soldiers at liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh*, by Sir *Pbelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlogh*. Thus were such of the *English* used by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themselves to *Belterbet*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the *English* drawn out to the Slaughter, as had gotten into the Castle of *Longford*, the Castle of *Tullogh* in the County of *Fermangah*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the same County, and several other places; as appears by several Examinations taken upon Oath, from Persons that hardly escaped thence with their Lives. And besides these other Policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to disenable them to stand out to make any defence. As in several places the *Irish* came under divers pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the *English* had in their Houses; and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at *Glaslough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the *English* Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High-Sheriff there being an *Irish* Man and a Papist, pretending that he took their Arms to secure them only against the Violence of such of the *Irish* as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more easily effect the Destruction of the *English*, and keep off the *Scots* from giving them any Assistance; they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the *Scottish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English* Papists, to live quietly among them;

The *Irish* falsify their Oaths and Protestations to the *English*, and after quarter given them in several Places, murder and destroy them.

Several Policies used by the *Irish* to prevent the *English* from rising against, or the *Scots* to join in their defence.

1641. them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the Slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small Parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable Body, as would enable them to make good their Party in the Field, against the numerous Forces of the Rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of; every Man betaking himself the best he could to the care of his own House, and seeking how to save his own Family, his Goods within, and his Cattle without. And so while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private Preservation, not joining their Forces together for the common Safety, they gave the Rebels a fair opportunity, and a singular advantage, to work out with great facility their common Destruction. Whereas, if they had deserted their Houses upon the first notice of the rising up of the *Irish*, and in the several Counties put themselves into several Bodies, under the Commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill soever they were provided of Arms and Munition) been able to have encountered the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many parts of the Country, or at least, to have put them to some stand in their Enterprize. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, *without almost any resistance*, exposed themselves to the merciless Cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very first (for some few days after their breaking out) did not in most places murder many of them: But the the course they took, was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle, to strip them, their Wives and Children naked; and in that miserable Plight, the Weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their Houses, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other Cloaths, or but even ordinary Rags to cover their Nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of shelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their Priests and chief Commanders. And so they drove such of the *English*, whose Lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their Journey towards *Carickfergus*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and stood upon their guards, came to Composition with their bloody

Assailants,

The *English* stand upon the defence of their private Houses without joining together in one Body, whereby they give great advantage to the Rebels.

Assailants, and gave them their Goods, Plate and Money, for leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their Licence at so dear a rate, had Passes and Convoys assigned them by the chief Captains of the Rebels, and so came on their Way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children. Out of the County of *Cavan*, as Mr. *Creighton* (who by his charitable Relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing) testifies in his Examination, there passed by his House in one Company, one Thousand four hundred Persons, in another five Hundred; from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in others lesser numbers; all without any Weapons, or any thing else but the very Cloathes on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most barbarously stripped of them, by those who undertook to give them safe Conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other Rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded; and all in a manner, whatsoever they had to cover their Nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the Examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonessy* in the County of *Cavan*, who being duly sworn, deposeth, *inter alia*, That this Deponent and his Company that were robbed, observed, that thirty Persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about one Hundred and fifty more Persons cruelly wounded; so that Traces of Blood issuing from their Wounds, lay upon the High-way for twelve Miles together, and many very young Children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty or thereabouts; because the cruel Pursuit of the Rebels was such, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, That if any digged Graves wherein to bury the dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor People left the most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous Beasts and Fowls, and some few their Parents carried a great way to bury them. And this Deponent further saith, that he saw upon the way a Woman, left by the Rebels stripped to her Smock, set upon by three Women and some *Irish* Children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor *English* Woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost and Snow; so that she fell in Labour under their hands, and both she and her Child died there. Thus did their Mercy in sparing those miserable Souls in this manner prove by much a far greater Cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousand of *British* that fell into their hands. For now they starved and perished in Multitudes upon the ways as they travelled along; and to those that out-lived the Misery of their Journey, their Limbs only served to drag up their Bodies to Christian Burial, there denied unto them. For many of the Men, and most of the Women and Children that thus escaped, either to *Dublin*,


1641.
Adam
Clover's
Examina-
tion.

1641. *lin*, or other places of safety in the North, not long outlived the bitterness of their Passage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted those diseases which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into Bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their Graves.

These were the first fruits of this Rebellion, which now began to dilate it self into the other Provinces, having covered over the northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful Desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active Instruments appointed for the Execution of this horrid Design fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody Massacres of the *English*. Sir *Phelim O Neal* being the chief of that Sept, and now the Person remaining of nearest alliance to the late Earl of *Tyron*, assumed to himself the chief power among the Rebels in *Ulster*; and by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the Destruction of all the *English* there. He was one of very mean Parts without Courage or Conduct; his Education for a great part of his youth was in *England*; he was admitted a Student of *Lincolns-Inn*, and there trained up in the Protestant Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived loosely, and having no considerable Estate, by reason of the great Engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all Opinions. Yet such were the over zealous Affections of his country Men in this cause, their secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, as by their forwardness to destroy the *English* and get their Goods, he quickly over-run that part of the Country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this Rebellion, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Caulfield* lay with his Foot-company, the Forts of *Donnannon* and *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confessor, bearing date from *Montjoy*, the 30th of *October*, he was able to brag of great and many Victories. And presently after he had gotten such a multitude of rude Fellows together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of Men towards *Lisnagarry*, near the chief Plantation of the *Scots*; (for that part of their Plot to spare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left sufficient Forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dondolke* in the County of *Louth*, which was a frontier Town in the last Wars against *Tyron*, and so well defended it self, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a Foot-Company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his Men in readiness, nor Arms or Munition, made little or

Sir Phelim
O Neal's
proceed-
ings.

Dondolke
taken by
the Rebels
about the
beginning
of Novem.
1641.

no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the Inhabitants, who delivered up the Town into the possession of the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641. 

The Rebels presently after their taking in of *Dondalke*, marched on further into the County of *Louth*, and possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within seven Miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Drobedagh*. So as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that Town, the Lord *Moore* had already retired thither from his House at *Millifont*, and there remained with his Troop of Horse and two Companies of Foot. One was under the command of Sir *John Netterville*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*. He discovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections, by giving false frights and raising false rumours, and making all manner of ill insinuations into the minds of the Townsmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some Plot to cut off the Lord *Moore* and seize upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Netterville's* part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discreetly passed over, and so carefully looked to the guard of the Town, as they could take no advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the Townsmen were extremely frightened with the thoughts of their present danger, and the greater part of them being Papists, were ready to declare themselves for the Catholick cause; only their desires were, things might be so ordered, as would administer unto them specious pretences of necessity for the same. The Lord *Moore* gave present advertisement unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the ill condition and most imminent danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the hands of the Rebels without further strength both of Horse and Foot. That in case the Enemy should make any sudden approaches, or attempt to surprize the Town, he found such poor preparatives for defence within, such apparent signs of disloyalty in the Townsmen, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best endeavours they could use to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their Lordships presently resolved, to levy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of Foot, and to place them under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpose there was very opportunely in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer 3000 *l.* in a readiness to be at that time sent over into *England*, for the satisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the levying and setting out of those Men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few Days, and having a Commission of Government

The Rebels march up towards *Tredagh*.

The ill condition of *Tredagh* represented by the *L. Moore* to the Lords Justices. A Regiment raised by the Lords Justices at *Dublin*, and sent down under the command of Sir *Hen. Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh*, for *Novem. 3.*

1641. for the Town, with some other private instructions, he marched away with great alacrity and diligence the 3d of *November*, and happily arrived next Day at *Tredagh*.

A Regiment
raised by
Sir C. Coote.

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The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coote* to levy a Thousand Men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short time made up his Regiment, wherein very many of the *English*, who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North lifted themselves; for most of the Men which escaped from thence with their lives, being better able to suffer than the Women and Children, out-lived the miseries of their Journey, and putting themselves into several Companies, some of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty used by the Rebels towards them.

The second
dispatch
made by
the Lords
Justices
and Council
into
England,
Novem. 5.

Upon the fifth of *November*, the Lords made their second dispatch unto His Majesty, still at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*: At the same time they sent several Letters into *England*, to the Lord Keeper, Speaker of the House of Peers, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in all which they did with much earnestness declare their present dangers, together with the necessity of sending sudden relief. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly set down the miserable estate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progress that the *Rebellion* had in few Days made since it broke out. They represented unto their Lordships the great outrages the Rebels had committed upon the *British* Inhabitants in *Ulster*, that they had seized upon all their Estates and Houses in five Counties of that Province, possessed their Arms, detained many of the principal Gentlemen Prisoners; That they had already slain many, most barbarously hewed some to pieces, that they have exposed Thousands to want and beggery, who had good Estates and lived plentifully: That the *Rebellion* began then to diffuse it self into the Counties of *Longford* and *Leitrim*, and to threaten the *English* Plantations in the King and Queens County: That the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *English* near about them: That they conceived there could not be less then 30000 who had already openly declared themselves in this *Rebellion*, and were assembled together in several great Parties; that they understood their design was, having got *Dundalke*, to take in *Tredagh*, and some to come up immediately to besiege the City and Castle of *Dublin*: That they gave out publicly, their purpose was to extirpate the *English* and *Protestants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romish Religion* were established, the Government settled in the hands of the Natives, and the old *Irish* restored to the lands of their supposed Ancestors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their Lordships with the lamentable estate wherein the Kingdom stood,

that

that His Majesty and the Parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, together with some able Commanders, 100000*l.* in Money, and further provisions of Arms: That unless these were presently sent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the Kingdom would be utterly lost, all the *English* and *Protestants* in *Ireland* destroyed, the Peace of the Kingdom of *England* disturbed by the *Irish* from thence, and so *England* enforced to make a new conquest of it, for that a politick Reformation would then be impossible. 1641.

But now before I pass further, I shall here give an accompt of the arrival of these and the former Letters of the 25th of *October*, addressed by the Lords Justices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Owen O Conally, the happy discoverer of the first Plot (who carried the first Letters over) arrived at *London* the last Day of *October*, and late in the Evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship, who having read them over, and received from him full Information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next Morning to the Council-board, and having there acquainted the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council with them, he was requir'd by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper House of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same Morning: And they considering the high importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, ordered that they should be presently sent down to the House of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord High-Chamberlain, Lord Admiral, Lord Marshal, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Earl of *Mandevile*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wilmot*, all of them being of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the House of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were read, and then having informed the House of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the House of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently Ordered,

That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to take into consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of the Kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious debate of this great business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest to be used at present for the prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in *England*, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time spent in this debate, they

The proceedings of the Parliament of *England* upon the first advertisements brought unto them of the Rebellion raised in *Ireland*.

1641. came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth;

1. That 50000 *l.* be forthwith provided.
2. That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the state of the business in *Ireland*, and to acquaint them that the lending of Monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the Common-wealth. And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50000 *l.* and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.

3. That a select Committee may be named by both Houses to consider of the affairs of *Ireland*.

4. That *Owen O Conally*, who discovered this great Treason, shall have 500 *l.* presently paid him, and 200 *l.* *per annum* pension, until provision of Land of inheritance of a greater Value be made for him.

5. That the Persons of Papists of quality within this Kingdom, may be secured within the several Counties where they reside.

6. That no Person whatsoever, except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses appointed to consider the affairs of *Ireland*.

These with several other particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the safety of the Kingdom of *England*, were resolved upon the question, and Mr. *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the House as Heads of a Conference desired with the Lords concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the same Day; at which Conference the Lord Keeper did express the very great sense the Lords had of the exceeding great Care taken by the House of Commons for the prevention of the further spreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And his Lordship by Command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those particulars presented unto them by the House of Commons without any material alteration, only adding such further things as they conceived might serve to further and expedite their desires in the more speedy putting them in Execution.

The House of Commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two first Days after the discovery made unto them, of the Rebellion there raised, did notwithstanding their own present distractions, set a-part some portion almost of every Day that they sat, during the whole Month of *November*, for the considering of the affairs of *Ireland*; and so upon the third and fourth of the same, resolved upon the question, and accordingly ordered these particulars following:

1. That

1. That the House holds fit that 20000 *l.* be forthwith supplied for the present Occasions of *Ireland*. 1641.
2. That a convenient number of Ships shall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-Coasts of *Ireland*.
3. That this House holds fit that 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse shall be raised with all convenient speed, for the present Expedition into *Ireland*.
4. That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament, such Officers as he shall think fit to send into *Ireland*, to command any Forces to be transported thither.
5. That Magazines of Victuals shall be forthwith provided at *West-Chester* to be sent over to *Dublin*, as the Occasions of that Kingdom shall require.
6. That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carlisle*, shall be forthwith sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.
7. That it be referred to the King's Council, to consider of some fit way, and to present it to the House, for a publication to be made of Rewards to be given to such as shall do service in this Expedition into *Ireland*; and for a pardon of such of the Rebels in *Ireland* as shall come in by a Time limited, and of a Sum of Money to be appointed for a Reward to such as shall bring in the Heads of such principal Rebels as shall be nominated.
8. That Letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in *Ireland*, to acquaint them how sensible this House is of the Affairs of *Ireland*.
9. That the Committee of *Irish* Affairs shall consider how, and in what manner this Kingdom shall make use of the Friendship and Assistance of *Scotland* in the Business of *Ireland*.
10. That directions shall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the pressing of Men for this particular Service for *Ireland*.

These Particulars, together with several others, being resolved upon the Question, they passed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raise 3500 Foot and 600 Horse, for the present Service there. And they further expressed their Resolution, not to make use of the Assistance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland* further for the present, than for the furnishing them with 1000 Foot, which they desired might be transported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*. And on the same day they ordered, that the Master of his Majesty's Ordnance should deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* the Number of 1000 Arms for Horse, and 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten Last of Powder, to be presently sent into *Ireland*. And that the Lord Admiral should suddenly provide shipping for the transporting

1641. transporting of Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and other Provisions according to the former Resolutions of the House.

Now while both Houses of Parliament were taking order for raising Men, Money, and sending Provisions and other Necessaries for *Ireland*, there arrived those other Letters of the 5th of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being addressed to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, were communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and after a Conference upon them, took further Resolutions for the speedy sending away Supplies into *Ireland*. And such were the forward Affections and Zeal of the House of Commons, to promote what concerned the Service of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200000 *l.* to be raised for the suppressing the *Irish* Rebellion, and for securing of the Kingdom of *England*, and payment of the publick Debts.

And that they might facilitate this great work of raising such a Sum of Money, upon Credit of an Act of Parliament, before the Money could be collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought fit, for the better Encouragement of the City of *London*, and for the giving them full satisfaction in point of security for the Monies so formerly lent them, to make this Order following.

THE Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having a due regard to the good Affections of the City of *London*, expressed upon sundry Occasions by the advancing and lending of great Sums of Money, for the Service of this Common-wealth, and particularly the Sum of 50000 *l.* lent for the *Irish* Affairs; and the Sum of 50000 *l.* more lent by the said City unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern Parts, before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherwise secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of *London*, with Interest of 8 *l.* per Cent. for one Year, out of such Monies as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament. And for that purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all Expedition. Provided always that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any Sums of Money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any Persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons have formerly ordered the Payment of any Sums of Money, nor to any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

But I shall now return to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and the serious Consultations and Means used here by the Justices and Council for the securing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, which by reason of the present Confusion, Weakness, and Wants, were in very great, and most apparent danger of a sudden Surprise.

And

And first for the Castle, Sir *Francis Willoughby* being made Governour, 1641. had a Company of an hundred Men well armed, assigned for the constant Guard of that Place, besides the ordinary Warders, who gave their usual Attendance there. And because the Lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate Times to admit such a multitude of Suitors of all sorts into the Castle, as had daily occasion to attend the Council-Board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in Council to *Cork-House*, where they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their Persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort in great numbers of several Lords, Gentlemen and others, who within few days after declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them. It was God's immediate Providence that preserved them, and suffered not those Persons, who soon after became such bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the Lords Justices and Council, and so have left all Things in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired Ends without any further Contestation or Trouble.

The next care was to provide Victuals for the Castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a Siege, in case the Town, either through Treachery within, or by Forces from without, should come to be surpris'd by the Rebels, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave it out, they would suddenly come down and make themselves Masters of it. How to compass this, seem'd a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no Money to be had for the performing this Work so absolutely necessary in it self, and at that Time so highly importing the Safety and Preservation, even of the whole Kingdom. Therefore the Master of the Rolls, upon whom the Lords were pleas'd to impose this Service of victualling the Castle, took the advantage of the strange Frights, Fears, and little Safety, all the *English* and *Protestants*, conceived both themselves and their Goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the chief Merchants that were Protestants in the Town, and clearly represented unto them, the high Necessities of the State, the great danger of the Town, the publick Benefit, and their own private Security, in laying into the Castle such of their Provisions as they had lying by them even in unsafe places of the City. These Impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the common danger, that they could not out-live the Ruins of the Castle; partly out of their own good Affections to the Service, partly out of a prudent Care to secure their Goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn upon the Master of the Roll's undertaking to see them satisfied in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain Restitution in kind to the several Owners.

Order
taken for
victualling
the Castle
of Dublin.

1641. Owners. So as there were presently laid in by the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above two thousand Barrels of Beef, two thousand Barrels of Herrings, and a good proportion of Wheat; Provisions sufficient, not only to victual the Castle for many Months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after; and their Money they received within few Months after, by Certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*, for present Payment to be made to such as laid in any Provisions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well, long since stopped up within the Walls of the Castle; and to provide all other Necessaries fit for a Siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great Comfort and Security to all the *English* and *Protestants*.

The
Lords Ju-
stices care
to provide
for the
safety of
the City
of *Dublin*.

The Castle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their Care how to secure the City in some sort, against any sudden Attempts. And this proved a work not easy to be effected, not only in regard of the craziness of the Walls, the large Suburbs, and weakness of the Place; but much more in respect of the corrupt ill Affections of the Popish Inhabitants within the City: So strangely were many of them deluded with the ill Infusions of their Priests, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful Experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the rebellious Designs then set on foot (as they believed) only for the re-settlement of their Religion, and recovery of their Liberties. They were the Instruments to convey away privately most of the chief Conspirators, who would have surprised the Castle on the 23d of *October*. They secretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country; they likewise sent them Relief that were abroad, by secret ways, conveying as well Ammunition, as Intelligence of all Passages from hence. And such strong Aversions had they against all Contributions for the Maintenance of his Majesty's Army, as in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and laying before them the high Necessities of the State, together with the apparent danger of the whole City and Kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable Sum of Money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treasure that should arrive out of *England*: The Popish Party among them was so prevalent, as that after a most serious Consultation and very solemn Debate among themselves, they returned this answer, That they were not able to furnish above 40 l. and part of that was to be brought in in Cattle.

There

There remained at this time embarked within the Harbour of *Dublin*, 1641. four hundred *Irish* Soldiers, ready, as was pretended, to set sail for *Spain*, under the command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with some other *Irish* Gentlemen had procured leave from his Majesty to levy certain numbers of Volunteers to be transported over for the Service of the King of *Spain*. And those levied in other parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together just at the very time design'd for the execution of the great Plot. The Pretence was specious, but certainly their Intentions how finely soever cover'd over, were to have those Men in a readiness together, at the very time appointed for the first breaking out of these unnatural Troubles. And as for those Men which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were so great a Terrour to all the Protestant Inhabitants in the City, as it exceedingly perplexed the Lords how to dispose of them as might prevent the Mischief justly feared, in case of their landing. Their Commanders had so handsomely ordered the matter, as though they were designed for a long Voyage, yet stay on Ship-board any longer they could not, by reason they had no Victuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no Man had Order, in the absence of Colonel *Barry*, who retired himself some few Miles out of the Town, the very Evening before the Castle should have been taken, to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to land, was to add so many Instruments of Mischief to those already gathered within and about the City. Therefore it was resolved, that the Captain of the King's Pinnace, then in the Harbour, should by force keep them from landing; which he did several days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably starve, if a course were not suddenly taken to afford them some Relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having first taken order they should not come into the City.

Several *Irish* Soldiers embarked under pretence of being carried into *Spain* at the very time of the first breaking out of the Rebellion.

The Lords Justices and Council thought fit within very few days after the landing of these Men, the more to deter them, and all other ill affected Persons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to issue out a Proclamation for the discovery and present removal of all such as did or should come and continue there without just or necessary cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their Actions, not to give any distaste to the *Irish* or other Inhabitants of the Country, as they forbore to inflict any punishment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, sparing several Persons whom they had not only just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered Speeches clearly discovering their ill Affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them,

Several Proclamations issued out by the Lords Justices and Council.

1641. unnecessary concourse of Strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to some other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great Security to the City, but lessen the Distempers abroad, bring safety to the *Pale*, and keep the Dangers at distance, and far off from them. And for this purpose they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner sort of People were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this Rebellion, and by the wicked seducement of the first Conspirators had been drawn on to despoil their *English* Neighbours, they issued out a Proclamation about the beginning of the Month of *November*, declaring unto all such as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *West-Meath*, *Lowth*, and *Longford*; that if they would come in and submit, make restitution of the Goods so taken, they should be received to his Majesty's Mercy, and no further Prosecution held against them.

A Remonstrance sent up to the Lords Justices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

Much about the time of the sending forth of this *Proclamation*, some of the chief of the Sept of the *Rely's*, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan*, sent up a kind of *Remonstrance* to the Lords Justices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair answer, assuring them of their readiness to give all just redress of their Grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their Houses, restore, as they were able, the *English* Mens Goods, and forbear all further Acts of Rapine and Violence. And they did presently send over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to his Majesty, according to their desires. But these ways of Moderation and peaceable Perswasions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of Influence into the resolved Minds of the Leaders, or of Operation upon the hardened Hearts of the People; they were too deeply engaged, so slightly to retire. They had now drenched themselves into the Blood of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their Spoils. It was not possible for them to make Restitution, and they hoped to go through with the Work, and by the united Power of the Kingdom to draw the whole Management of the Affairs into their own hands.

Commissions of Martial Law granted unto several persons by the Lords Justices.

And now likewise the Lords Justices, and Council, that they might shew the great Confidence they had in the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and give them both opportunity and means to express their Loyalty and Affections to his Majesty's Service, resolved (according as the constitution of their Affairs then required) to do some such Acts as might clearly persuade them of the great Trust they really reposed in them. And therefore first they gave out several Commissions of Martial Law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the common Law) of such Traitors and Rebels as should be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the Country about them. And these

these they directed to the most active Gentlemen, though all Papists, inhabiting in the several Counties; as, to *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Esq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton* and *James Tuit* Esq; in the County of *West-Meath*, *Valerian Wesley*, in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*. 1641.

Next they made choice of the chief Persons of quality residing in the said Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to Govern and Command such Forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the State for the defence of the Country, and issued out from the Council-Board several Commissions of Government unto them. As, one to the Earl of *Ormond* and the Lord Viscount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall* Esq; for the County of *Catherlagh*; Sir *James Dillon* the elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the younger for the County of *Longford*; Lord Viscount *Costeloe* for the County of *Mayo*; Sir *Robert Talbot* and *Garret Birue*, for the County of *Wicklow*; Sir *Christopher Bellew* for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *West-Meath*; *Nicholas Barnwell* for the County of *Dublin*; Lord Viscount *Gormanstone* for the County of *Meath*. All these were made choice of without distinction of Religion; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief Persons of power in the Country into those Places of trust; hoping they might prove good Instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the Northern Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform, if they would really joyn in the service, or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their Rebellious Designs.

The Commission directed to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his Study by some of his Majesty's Army, when he and all the rest of the Governours that were of the *Romish* Religion, thus chosen, deserted their Houses, and openly declared themselves in actual Rebellion. The other Commissions were all of the same Tenour.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons.

John Borlace.

1641. **R**ight trusty and well beloved, *We greet you well. Whereas divers most Disloyal and Malignant Persons within this Kingdom, have Traiterously Conspired against his Majesty, his Peace, Crown and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conspiracy, are Traiterously Assembled together in a warlike Manner, and have most inhumanely made Destruction and Devastation of the Persons and Estates of divers of his Majesty's Good and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, slain, and imprisoned great Numbers of them. We out of our Care and Zeal for the common Good, being desirous by all means to suppress the said Treasons and Traitors, and to conserve the Persons and Fortunes of his Majesty's loving Subjects here in safety; and to prevent the further Spoil and Devastation of his Majesty's good People here; do therefore hereby require and authorize you to levy, raise and assemble, all, every, or any the Forces, as well Foot-men as Horse-men within the County of Meath, giving you hereby the command in Chief of all the said Forces; and hereby further requiring and authorizing you as Commander of them in Chief, to arm, array, divide, distribute, dispose, conduct, lead, and govern in Chief the said Forces, according to your best Discretion; and with the said Forces, to resist, pursue, follow, apprehend, and put to death, slay, and kill, as well by battle as other ways, all and singular the said Conspirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Discretion; and according to your Conscience and Discretion to proceed against them, or any of them, by Martial Law, by hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accustomed in time of open Rebellion; and also to take, waste, and spoil their, or any of their Castles, Holds, Forts, Houses, Goods, and Territories, or otherwise to preserve the Lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into his Majesty's Favour and Mercy, and to forbear the Devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territories aforementioned, according to your Discretion: Further hereby requiring and authorizing you to do, execute, and perform all and singular such other things for Examination of Persons suspected, discovery of Traitors and their Adherents, parlying with, and granting Protections to them, or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other Conveniences, sending and retaining Espials, vittualling the said Forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose aforementioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, and the necessity of the service require; further hereby requiring and authorizing you, as Commander in Chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better Performance and Execution*

tion of all and singular the Premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit. 1641.
And We do hereby Require and Command, all and singular his Majesty's Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and loving Subjects, of and within the County of Meath, and the Borders thereof, upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty, and to his Crown, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, in the doing, and executing of all and singular the Premises; This our Commission to continue during our pleasure only, and for the so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, November 1641.

*R. Dillon, Jo. Temple,
 Jo. Ware, Rob. Meredith.*

To our very good Lord Nicholas
 Vic. Com. Gormanstone.

In these Commissions it is very observable, that there was power given to these Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use Fire and Sword, for the destruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but also to preserve the Lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into his Majesty's Favour or Mercy. This plainly shews the very great Confidence the Lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their desires to make them Instruments, to deliver those multitudes of People that engaged themselves in this Rebellion, from the power, either of his Majesty's Arms, or Civil Justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious Nation; and they at the first applied Lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourse to more violent Medicines.

That these Governours thus constituted, might be the better enabled according to the Authority and Power given unto them by their several Commissions, to undertake the defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching Dangers. The Lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of Arms, to be employed for the arming of some Men to be raised in each County for the common safety, besides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the defence of their own private Houses. As to the Lord of Gormanstone, there were delivered Arms for five hundred Men, for the County of Meath. There were also delivered Arms for three hundred Men for the County of Kildare. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of Lowth. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of West-Meath. Arms for three hundred Men for the County of Dublin. And about the same time there were sent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the

1641. the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the Arming of the *Scots* in the County of *Downe*. All of these had Powder, Lead, and Match, proportionable to their Arms, at the same time delivered unto them.

Several Counties within the Province of *Leinster* declare themselves for the Rebels.

But now the poison of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it self within the Northern Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffused into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Leirim*, *Longford*, *West-Meath*, and *Loxth*, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of *November*, the *Irish* in the County of *Wicklow* brake out most furiously, Despoiling, Robbing and Murthuring all the *English* Inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair well-built houses, drove away their Cattle, and laid Siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a foot Company of the old Army. The News being brought to the Lords Justices thereof, they well considered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the Rebels, and that whole County in their possession, they could expect little quietness, or even safety in the City, by reason of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other side to consider their want of means for the performance of that service, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not fit to be trusted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aside that resolution, and with great grief to sit still and suffer the poor *English* in those parts to be expos'd to the merciless cruelties of those barbarous Rebels who went on furiously with the work, and quickly clear'd all that County of the *English* Inhabitants. Within few Days after, the *Irish* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody Examples of their neighbours. There were now also great appearances of the disloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large protestations under the pretence of doing Service, had got into their hands the Arms and Munition designed for them by the State. And so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, giving no manner of Intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives against them, as their infections began even then to be justly suspected.

The sad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the Arms, Munition, and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the *English* and despoiled Protestants, was now reduced to a very sad Condition, desperately encompassed on every side, the Northern Rebels being come down in two several Parties with great Forces, within twenty miles of it on the one Side, and the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infesting it on the other Side: which with the great resort

resort of Strangers, and the continual Rumours of new Plots and Devices 1641. to surprize the Town, possessed the Protestants with extraordinary Fears of their present danger. But that which made their Condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of *English* that came up in Troops, stripped and miserably despoiled, out of the North. Many Persons of good Rank and Quality, cover'd over with old Rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted Straw to hide their Nakedness. Some reverend Ministers, and others that had escap'd with their Lives, sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the Murders of their Husbands; Mothers of their Children, barbarously destroyed before their Faces, poor Infants ready to perish and pour out their Souls in their Mothers bosom: Some over-wearied with long Travel, and so furbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the Ghost in the Streets: others over-whelm'd with Grief, distracted with their Losses, lost also their Senses.

The resort of Men, Women and Children to the City of Dublin, in a most miserable posture.

Thus was the Town, within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, filled with these most lamentable Spectacles of Sorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in all parts of the City, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no Cloathing to cover their Nakedness, no Food to fill their hungry Bellies. And to add to their Miseries, they found all manner of Relief very disproportionable to their Wants, the Popish Inhabitants refusing to minister the least Comfort unto them; so as those sad Creatures appeared like living Ghosts in every Street. Many empty Houses in the City, were by special direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, and Out-Houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open Streets, and others under Stalls, and there most miserably perished. The Churches were the common Receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful Posture, as Objects of Charity, in so great multitudes, as there was scarce any Passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common Beggars, crept into private Places; and some of them, that had not private Friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. And so bitter was the Remembrance of their former Condition, and so insupportable the Burthen of their present Calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known of some that lay almost naked, and having Cloathes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others that would not stir to fetch themselves Food, though they knew where it stood ready for them. But they continued to lie nastily in their filthy Rags, and even their own Dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them. And so even worn out with the

1641. the misery of the Journey and cruel Usage, having their Spirits spent, their Bodies wasted, and their Senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them died, leaving their Bodies as Monuments of the most inhuman Cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the Women and Children thus barbarously expelled out of their Habitations, perished in the City of *Dublin*: And so great numbers of them were brought to their Graves, as all the Church-Yards within the *whole Town* were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the Lords took Order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side the River, taken in upon the Out-Greens, and set a-part for Burying-Places. These were the memorable Spectacles of Mercy, and of the great Commiseration the Rebels used to those *English*, to whom they gave their Lives for a Prey. But what their Sufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of those bloody Villains, what strange horrid Inventions they used towards them, torturing and massacring those they there murder'd, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left upon record to Posterity, under the Oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, than to shew the strange Horror and Amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *English* and Protestant Inhabitants of the City. They seeing the Rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same Cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was, as soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and seize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so make a general Extirpation of all the *English*, Root and Branch, not to leave them Name or Posterity throughout the whole Kingdom.

The fears
and di-
stractions
within the
City of
Dublin.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused Countenance the City then had: What Fears, Terrour, and Astonishment, the miserable Spectacles within, and the Approaches of the Rebels without, raised in the Minds of an affrighted, distracted People. The *English* Inhabitants looked upon all the horrid Cruelties exercised abroad, all the Calamities and Desolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these Gates, and now ready to enter: The Avenues all open, neither Hope nor Means, neither Rampiers nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful Travels and Endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make provision for the common safety, no Money could be raised, few Men gotten together; the Papists well furnished with Arms closely concealed, and desperately animated by their Priests to all manner of Mischief: No Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these Distractions. And so care-
less

less were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that Breach, as under pretence of want of Money, they let it lie open till the Lords sent unto them 40 l. towards the Reparation. All things tended to a sudden Confusion; the face of the very City was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching Ruin: The means of Safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable: The applications, by reason of the strange *Aversions* of the *Papist Party*, of a very slow and weak Operation. Every Man began to consider himself, and his own private Preservation. Those that lived in the Suburbs removed, with their Families, into the City. The Privy Counsellours and Persons of Quality, into the Castle, which became a common Repository of all things of Value. The Rolls were by special Order removed thither: The Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in. But upon the Rebels advance somewhat nearer, and their frequent Alarms, many of those who had there taken Sanctuary, began to suspect the Strength of those old crazy Walls, and therefore to make sure, resolved to quit the Kingdom, imbarquing themselves, and their Goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary Winds in the Harbour, chose rather to endure all Extremities on Shipboard, then to hazard themselves a-shoar again. The *Scottish* Fishermen, who lay with their Boats in great numbers within the Bay, fishing for Herrings, having, with much forwardness, made an offer to the State, to bring five hundred of their Men a-shoar to be put in Arms and do present Service (a Proposition at that season most acceptable) were so strangely affrighted one Evening with a false Alarm, as that in the Night, on a sudden, they put to Sea, and quite disappeared on these Coasts till the Year following. The Papists on the other side being most confident that the City would be taken and sack'd by the Rebels, and fearing lest happily they might be mistaken in the Tumult and fierce Execution, removed themselves and their Goods with the same speed into the Country. And that which heightened the Calamity of the poor *English*, was their Flight in the Winter, in such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous Season, as in the memory of Man had never been observed formerly to continue so long together. Yet the terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the Sea, most of those who could provide themselves of shipping, though at never so excessive Rates, deserted the City: And such was the violence of the Winds, such continuing impetuous Storms, as several Barques were cast away; some in three Months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*; and almost all that then put to Sea, were in great danger of perishing. The Iniquities of the *English* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now

1641. full: Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire together for the punishment of them. God certainly declared his high Indignation against them for their great Sins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in this Land, and suffered these barbarous Rebels to be the Instruments of Mischief and cruel Executioners of his fierce Wrath upon them. But *because they have taken vengeance with a despiteful heart, to destroy them for the old hatred; he will certainly in his own time execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes: As he threatned the Philistians in the like case.*

Ezek. 25.

15, 17.



T H E

been long in contriving, and howsoever, peradventure first thought on in 1641, Ireland, yet received large Contributions towards the consummation out of England and other Foreign Parts.

I have seen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Priest, one that stiled himself *Chaplain Major* within the *Pale*, that he himself had been seven Years imployed in bringing on this Plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several Parts about it.

Mr. Goldsmith, a Minister in *Conaught*, told me, that he did, a full Year before the Rebellion broke out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his residing at *Brussels*, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though so obscurely, as he well understood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Parish of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, affirmeth upon Oath, that all the Nobles in the Kingdom that were Papists, had a hand in this Plot, as well as the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, *Hugh Ogo*, and *Mac-Mahown*; that they expected aid out of Spain by *Owen Roe O Neal*; and that Colonel *Plunket*, one of those that was to be an Actor in the surprise of the Castle of *Dublin*, told him, that he knew of this Plot eight Years since, and that within these three Years he hath been more fully acquainted with it. *Francis Sacheveril*, Esq; hath deposed, that at several times shortly after the beginning of this Rebellion, he hath heard four several Popish Priests, viz. *Hugh Rely* of the County of *Down*, *Edmund O Tunnah* of the County of *Armagh*, *Morice Mac-Credan* of the County of *Tyrone*, and *James Hallegan* of the County of *Armagh*, say, That the Priests, Jesuits and Fryars of *England*, *Ireland*, *Spain*, and other Countries beyond the Seas, were the Plotters, Projectors and Contrivers of this Rebellion and Insurrection, and that they have been these six Years in agitation and preparation of the same; and that the said Priests did then express a kind of Joy that the same was brought to so good effect: He also further deposes, That at several times *Ever Boy Mac-Gennis* in the County of *Down*, Gent. and *Hugh O Hagan* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. did brag and say, That they doubted not but that they should shortly conquer the *English* in the Kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves, and that they would not rest so content, but they would raise strong Armies to invade and conquer *England*. *Roger Moore*, one of the prime Conspirators, told *Mr. Coleby*, then Prisoner with him, that the Plot had been in framing several Years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindered. By Letters sent from *Rome* to *Sir Phelim O Neal*, and the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, which were intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parsons*, though the Fryar that writ them doth not express any certain Knowledge of this very Plot; yet thus much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the *Irish*; that the News of *Sir Phelim O Neal's*

The general Plot for a Rebellion in Ireland of an ancient date.

Patrick O Bryan's Examination.

Francis Sacheveril, Esq; his Examination.

1641. *O Neat's* taking Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all Assistance from thence; and further, desiring him to send an Agent to *Rome*, and to imploy several Persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid, Paris*, and with the Emperour, they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring Succours from those Princes whom he assured him would join to give him all Assistance in this Action.

The *Irish* have had it long in design to shake off the *English* Government.

Besides these, we have very many other presumptions that the *Irish*, since they found their own strength, and that they were able to draw together so great numbers of Men, as their several *Septs* so strangely multiplied during the late Peace, can now afford, have long had it in design to shake off the *English* Government, to settle the whole power of the State in the hands of the Natives, and to re-possess them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom: And that in this Plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general Notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the Affairs of *Great-Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own power and wise management, drawn his Majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction, as well in their Church-Discipline, as the Liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the Distractions being grown to some height, through the great misunderstanding betwixt the King and his Parliament, *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the hands of Justices, the old Army dispersed in places of so great distance, as it could be of little advantage, the common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except some few, worn out and gone: This, as the first Plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and masking their perfidious Designs under the publick pretences of Religion, and the defence of his Majesty's Prerogative, they let loose the Reins of their own vindictive Humour and irreconcilable Hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable Embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the first Plot was laid, and most exactly formed, many Months before the War broke out between the King and his People. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this Rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of Reason, even somewhat positively Divine, of the dismal Breach and fearful Distempers which afterwards follow'd to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying Remedies towards the reduction of *Ireland*. For the Attestation of this Truth, I could produce the
general

general concurrence of several circumstances, many private Discourses 1641. and Advertisements, as also a particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it seems, from a very intelligent Papist, a great Zealot in the Cause, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthews*, then in *Dublin*, who tho' lately Converted, retained yet a great Friendship among them. He tells him in the beginning of the Letter; *That he was desired from some well wishing Friends, to advise him, as he tendred his Safety and Security, upon the sight of those, instantly to forsake and abandon that Troublesome and most Unfortunate Kingdom, for God and Man had speedily resolved to Afflict and Punish the over-grown Impieties of these prophane Times, all Hearts and Hands happily Conspiring to it; and that he should be as speedy in his passage as was possible, and rather, as the case stood, hazard all dangers by Sea, then the least at Land, to be sure not to stop in England, especially at London, that sink of Sin (as he calls it) and center of Disorders, for by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but Troubles, Factions and desperate Distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for Paris, or rather Brussels, where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle.* This Letter was written about the beginning of November, 1641, which was some few Days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full six Months before the taking up of Arms in England.

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more ancient date, yet by all the Examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher than the Month of *January*, 1640, and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulster*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the *Tower*, and delivered by him to Sir *John Comiers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambert* and Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight; in *Ireland*, March 26th, 1642. In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in *Dublin*, in *Candlemas Term*, about the time when Mr. *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moore* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own Conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster* to that purpose, who would be ready to joyn with them, as likewise a good part of *Conaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in Execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said

Roger

The Plot for a Rebellion in Ireland first discovered to the Lord Mac-Guire and others, about the time of Mr. John Bellew's return out of England, with Commission to continue the Parliament in Ireland, which was 1640.

1641. *Roger Moore* having the next Day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal*, Brother to Sir *Pbelim O Neal*, Master *Cofloe*, and *Mac-Mabon* herewith, did propose, that first, every one should endeavour to draw his own Friends into that Act, at least those that did live in one Country with them; and that when they had so done, they should send for the *Irish* in the *Low-Countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the Day and Resolution, so that they might be over with them by that Day, or soon after, with supply of Arms and Munition; that there should be a set Day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that Day, and seize upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this Day to be near Winter, so that *England* could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland* before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be supplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joining with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he said, for his own part, he was really assured, that when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing; and that in case they did, that they had Men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had spoken to a great Man (who then should be nameless) who would not fail at the Day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the Act, but that till then he was sworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the Command of Men in those Parts of *Conaught*, where he lived: He further saith, that in Lent following, Mr. *Moore*, according to his Promise, came into *Ulster*, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they dispatched one *Tooly Conley*, Parish Priest to Mr. *Moore*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the *Low-Countries*, who within few Months after arrived with this answer from the said Colonel, desiring them not to delay any time in rising out, but to let him know of the Day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen Days of that Day, with good aid; also desiring them by any means to seize on the Castle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he saith, that during the time of these their private meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birne*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brian O Neal*, and others, who came with directions to carry Men away, and that these were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their service to bring it on, that they would raise their Men under colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, and with the Arms found there, arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any Action that should be commanded them.

He

He further also saith, that they had divers private Consultations about the carrying on of this Conspiracy, not only at *Dublin*, but in several other Places in the Province of *Ulster*, and that they had set down several Days for the putting of it in Execution, but meeting with some obstacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of *September*; and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23d of *October*, for the Day to execute this long designed Plot in; and that they had respect unto the Day of the Week, which did fall on Saturday, being the Market-day, on which there would be the less notice taken of People up and down the Streets; that they then settled what numbers of Men should be brought up out of the several Provinces for the surprize of the Castle, and what Commanders should lead them on; that seeing the Castle had two Gates, that the *Leinster* Men should undertake to seize upon the little Gate, which lay nearest to the place where the Arms and Munition was placed; and that the great Gate should be undertaken by those of *Ulster*, and that Sir *Pbelim O Neal* should be there in Person; but that he excus'd himself, because he resolved at the same time to seize upon *London-derry*, and that thereupon by the importunity of the Undertakers, it was impos'd upon him the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be there in Person at the taking of the Castle of *Dublin*. That it was further resolved, what number of Forces should be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with a thousand Men within four Days after the taking of the Castle; as also that it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the Kingdom, should rise out that Day and seize on all the Forts and Arms in the several Counties; as likewise on all the Gentry, and make them Prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse Fortune, and not to kill any, but where of necessity they should be forced thereunto by opposition. These particulars, together with many other circumstances very considerable, are set down in the relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained Prisoner in the Tower of *London*; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation published by Authority, and so presented to the common view. We shall find also, that *Mac-Mabon* in his Examination taken when he was first apprehended by the Lords Justices and Council here, doth testify that all the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the first Plot; and particularly, that all the Popish Party in the Committee sent into *England*, as likewise in both Houses of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination of *William Fitz-Gerald*, it is there affirmed, That Sir *Pbelim O Neal* sending for him five Days after his rising in Arms, told him, what he did was by Directions and Consent of the Prime Nobility and

1641. Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northern parts, the same was executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a Course resolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the preservation of his Majesty's Prerogative, their own Religion and Liberties, against the *Puritan* Faction in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that the Lord of *Gormanston* knew of this Plot while he was in *England*, is testified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his Examination, as also by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his relation; who saith that Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted some of the *Irish* Committee, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanston*, with this Plot, and that they approved it well: Colonel *Plunket* in his Letter to Father *Patrick Burnwal*, Lord *Abbot* of *Mellifont* (as he styles him), doth seem much to Glory in the means he had used to incite the Lords and Gentry of the Pale to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it) and assures him that the Lord of *Gormanston*, whom he there calls Lord-General, will go bravely on.

The first contrivers of the Rebellion did not first openly appear in it. And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great Plot, as well as by what Persons it was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carried on to the very point of Execution. And first it is to be observed, that howsoever Sir *Phelim O Neel*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rehy*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon* and their Adherents, chief of the *Irish* Septs in *Ulster*, and other Counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the Stage, and by the bloody Execution, notoriously declare themselves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was either altogether originally plotted by them, or most of them had but subordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first Conspirators: I take it to be most probable, after the general Plot came to be reduced into form, that as the

That the Lord of *Gormanston* and some others of the *English* Pale, were engaged in the first Plot, is very probable. Lord of *Gormanston* was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief of the Pale joyned together to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the principal Septs of the old *Irish*, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business: And after they had joyned together, and so finely order'd the matter, as they had made it a general rising, as Sir *Phelim O Neel* terms it, of all the *Catholics* throughout the Kingdom, with the general Consent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were with one general Voice, they founded forth from all the four Provinces of *Ireland* the same Language, they used the same Remonstrances, and made the very same Pretences for their justification, they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing

mishing and murdering the *British* and *Protestants*, only in the North, 1641. they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilt much more innocent Blood, than in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewise in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emiffaries abroad: Those of *Leinster* brought back Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanstone*, who had long lived with good reputation in *Flanders*, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulster*, they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that Province: The *Munster* Men brought over *Garret Barry*, whom they made General of their Forces: And those in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief Command of such Men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common Design: All these held a due correspondency, and in all their Actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

The great Instrument chiefly employed in this Work of drawing the *meer Irish* into a firm Combination with the old *English* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Gwire's* Relation before-mentioned) was *Roger Moore*, Esq; a Person of broken Fortune, by descent meerly *Irish*, and issued out of the chief Family of the *O Moores* in the County of *Leax*, but by Inter-marriages allied to some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*: He treated with them about the Association; he first broke the Design to the Northern *Irish*; he was the Man that made several Journeys in *Leinster*, into *Ulster* and *Conaught*: Sundry Messages were interchangeably sent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and entercourse between them: And all things were so ordered for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Phunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were designed to join with the Lord *Mac-Gwire*, *Mac-Mulmore*, *Brian O Neal*, *Con O Neal*, *Hugh Birne*, for the surprize of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Mayer Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February* 1641. tells, among many other remarkable Passages, of several preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, Brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was sent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*; and that while he resided there he received Letters from the President *Rosse* (which was *Sir Phelim O Neal*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his Business, for *Brabant* and *Valence* were joined together, which; as he affirms, signified in those Characters, *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, viz. *Daniel O Neal*: Besides, as *James Talbot*, Esq; testifies in his Letter of the 9th of *November* 1641. written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*; that he understood from *Philip Mac-Mulmore O Rehy*, that there were

1641. certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northern *Irish*, for the advancing of the Rebellion; and that the Remonstrance from the principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Justices and Council sent by Dean *Jones*, and Mr. *Waldron*, there then Prisoner, was framed in the *Pale* and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*, one of their own: And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any Jealousies were entertained by the State of the adherence or conjunction of the old *English* with the *Irish*. What those Covenants or Contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain, some there were, and some Covenants also entered into, between the Northern *Irish*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Leinster*, and these were signed with their Blood, as Doctor *Maxwell* testifies in his Examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neel* say on the 19th of *December* 1641. in his own House, and in the hearing of Mr. *Joseph Travers* and others: If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papists of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not rise, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, signed with their own hands and written in their own Blood, which should bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been some very strange and extraordinary Engagements, and more than I can well imagine, it had not been possible that so many Persons of Quality, having great Possessions and many Children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the main part of the Plot for the surprise of the Castle of *Dublin* to fail, and the power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacrity and readiness undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful Supplies both out of *England* and *Scotland*, but by their publick Order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*, fully declared their Resolutions for the vigorous Prosecution of the War of *Ireland*: Nay, the Citics of *Galway* and *Limerick*, kept their Designs very covertly, not doing any open Acts of Hostility, till after the arrival of some Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the Siege of *Drogheda* or *Fredagh* was raised, and those bold perfidious Traytors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* banished by force of his Majesty's Arms out of their own Habitations, which were all spoiled and laid waste.

Now that then they should declare themselves, is more than a Miracle to me, and such a Mystery, as I should not know what to think of, but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Gwire's* Relation before-mentioned, that they were acquainted with the first beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular Interest from time to time in the carriage of it on, so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were

were too deeply engaged slightly to retire: And that howsoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at first stood at a gaze, and were put to take up second Counsels; yet such was the strength of the Conspiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their several Assignations, and act their parts with great Diligence and Industry. The Wife of *Philip O'Rely*, in the County of *Cavan*, told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Justices at the Council-Board) that she wondred very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not rise and join with them in the very beginning of this Rebellion, adding these words, or to this effect; *That if they would let us alone, and not set us on, we were so well at ease, as we would never have begun this troublesome Work.* It cannot certainly be imagined, that those of the *English Pale* (unless they had been the first Projectors, or deep Adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Irish* should have seized upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, places of Refuge for them in all former Troubles, and which would now have given them Protection and Safety against the Incursions of the *Irish*.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further Evidence in this particular; I purpose now to declare how those great Instruments of Mischief, that were the supream Conductors of this wicked Design, mov'd forwards so successfully in the beginning, toward the accomplishment of their long intended Extirpation of all the *British* and *Protestants* out of the Kingdom. I find two sorts of Persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main Fundamentals whereupon their bloody Superstructures were afterwards easily reared up: And these were such of the *Popish Lawyers* as were Natives of the Kingdom, and those of the *Romish Clergy* of several Degrees and Orders. For the first, they had in regard of their Knowledge of the Laws of the Land, very great Reputation and Trust, they now began to stand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the Liberties of the Subject, and redress of their pretended Grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great Party in the House of Commons, here then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted Maxims of Law, the pernicious Speculations of their own Brain, which though plainly discerned to be full of Virulency, and tending to Sedition, yet so strangely were many of the *Protestants* and well meaning Men in the House blinded with an apprehension of Ease and Redress, and so stupified with their bold Accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond Assertions; so as what they spake was received with great Acclamation, and much Applause by most of the *Protestant Members* of the House; many of which, under specious Pretences,

The *Romish Clergy* and the *Popish Lawyers*, great Instruments in the first plotting and carrying on the Rebellion.

The *Irish Lawyers* draw a great Party in the House of Commons to adhere to them.

1641. tentes of publick Zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their Party: And then it was, that having impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, of High-Treason, together with other prime Officers and Ministers of State that were of *English* Birth, some of those great Masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Quo-ries*, Challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully, over-grown Misgovernment, than to be made against an Authority, that had for many Years struggled against the beloved Irregularities of a stubborn People, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued Distempers of the Kingdom: They disdain'd the moderate Qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest Answers, such as the Law and Duty to their Sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compass in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered such desperate Maxims, which being diffused abroad would fit and dispose the People to a change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of Record, would give the King no Forfeiture of Estates: That though many thousands stood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of destruction, yet if they professed not to rise against the King, that it was no Rebellion: That if a Man were Out-lawed for Treason, and his Land thereby vested in the Crown, or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Out-lawry, and recover his Ancestor's Estate. And many other Positions of a perilous Consequence, tending to Sedition and Disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and by the power and strength of their Party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a Suspension of *Poyning's Act*, and indeed intended the utter Abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest Ties and best Monuments the *English* have of their intire Dominion over the *Irish* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of *England*. They further assumed Power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital Offences: A Right which no former Age hath left any Precedent for, neither would this admit the Example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Session of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two Months before the first breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high Crime against the Lords Justices, and as one of the chief moving Causes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But

But to let those things pass, how finely soever these proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of Zeal and publick Affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspicion; yet now the eyes of all Men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in Parliament, not to have the newly raised *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation; as likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising Men to carry into *Spain*, were all parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy. Preparatives, such as had been long laid, to bring on the suddain execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Friars, and all the rest of the viperous fraternity belonging to their holy Orders; who, as I said, had a main part to Act, and have not failed with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the Country to lay such other dangerous impressions in the Minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the Day once prefixed for Execution, they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers, the good success of a great Design, much tending to the prosperity of the Kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholick cause. And for the facilitating of the Work, and stirring up of the People with greater animosity and cruckey to put it on at the time prefixed; they loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants, telling the People that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an *Englishman*, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much acrimony the severe courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the suppressing of the *Romish* Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the People that in *England* they had caused the Queen's Priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majesty in her own Person under a most severe Discipline: That the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddainly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon the 23d of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a general Massacre of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

The means used by the Priests and Jesuits to stir up the people to rebel.

And

1641.

The Irish
revive
their ancient
animosities
against the
English.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, comfortable and advantageous soever it was, they would have the World believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and enslavement. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattle; at their goodly Houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travels and careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: They were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of People commonly bringing their Cattle into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors, and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The ends
proposed
by the first
plotters of
the rebellion.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religion, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* Inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several members as Persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Cauterisers, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physicians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications to so desperate a Malady. In those Instructions privately sent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillon* of *Casteloz*, presently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the alteration of the Supream power in the government and settling of it in the hands of the

Earl

Earl of Ormonde, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove such Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their Places, were there positively laid down to be a more likely means to appease these Tumults than a considerable Army. In the Remonstrance of the County of *Longford*, presented about the same time to the Lords Justices, by the same Lord *Dillon*, as also in the frame of the Common-wealth, found at Sir *John Dungar's* House, not far from *Dublin*, and sent up thither out of *Conaught* to be Communicated to those of *Leinster*; pieces which publicly appeared soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion; the points insisted upon in them and several others, were restauration of the publick Profession of the *Romish* Religion; restitution of all the Plantation-lands unto the Natives, and settlement of the present Government in their hands. All the Remonstrances from several parts, and that came out of the several Provinces of the Kingdom do concur in these Propositions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the desires with the first intentions of those who are now out in Rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to insert them as I found them, methodically digested into certain Propositions, termed,

1641.
The true
causes of
the rebellion.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietness.

1. **T**hat a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in pursuance thereof, and for strengthening the same, an Act of Abolition may pass in the Parliament here.

2. That all marks of national distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by Act of Parliament.

3. That by several Acts of Parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared that the Parliament of Ireland hath no subordination with the Parliament of England, but that the same hath in it self Supream Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, as absolute as the Parliament of England there hath.

4. That the Act of 12th Henry the seventh, commonly called Poynings Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

5. That as in England there pass an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may pass in Ireland another for a Sexennial Parliament.

6. That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 2d of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland; and all other Acts made against Catholics, or the Catholic

1641. *Abolish Religion, since the twentieth year of King Henry the eighth, may be repealed.*

7. That the Bishopricks, Deanries, and all other spiritual promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Numeries, may be restored to the Catholick owners, and likewise all impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and precincts of the Religious Houses of the Monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present proprietors, but to be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

8. That such as are now entituled Catholick Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his Majesty's rights of Patronages, First-fruits, and Twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his Highness receives benefit thereby.

9. That all inquisitions taken since the Year 1634, to entitle his Majesty to Conaught, Thomond, Ormonde, Eliogarty, Kilmannagh, Duheara, Wicklow, and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his Majesty's late Graces.

10. That an Act of Parliament may pass here for the securing the Subjects title to their several Estates against the Crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before 60 Years, or under colour or pretext of the present commotions.

11. That all Plantations made since the Year 1610 may be avoided by Parliament, if the Parliament should hold it just, and their possessions restored to them or their Heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the Crown the Rents and Services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers.

12. That the transportation of all native Commodities to all places of the World in Peace with his Majesty, may be free and lawful, his Customs first paid, and that the Statutes of 10, 11, and 13, of Queen Elizabeth, for restraining the Exportation of native Commodities be repealed.

13. That all Preferments Ecclesiastical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in his Majesty's gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom only, such as his Majesty shall think meet, without any distinction for Religion, provided always that upon the Princes of his blood of England, he may bestow what Places he shall think meet.

14. That a Marshal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to have perpetual succession therein with the same Prebeminence, Authority and Jurisdiction as they respectively have in England, and that the said places be ever conferred upon Noblemen, Natives of this Kingdom.

15. That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, Armed and Provided at the charge of the several Counties,

Counties, Cities, and Towns, and Commanded by the Natives of the same, 1641. who shall be named by the Counties, Cities and Towns respectively.

16. That his Majesty may release all Tenures in Capite, and by Knight-service; in consideration whereof, he shall receive a settled Revenue of 12000*l.* per annum, being double the Sum which he casually receives by them; Reliefs, Seisins, Licenses for Alienations, Esuage and Aids nevertheless to remain.

17. That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.

18. That such new Corporations, as have not the face of Corporate Towns, and were erected to give voices in the Parliament, may be dissolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no such to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.

19. That there may be Agents chosen in Parliament, or otherwise, as thought meet, to attend continually his Majesty, to represent the grievances of this Nation, that they may be removeable by such as did elect them; and in case of Death or Removance, others may be for ever successively substituted in that place, and that such Agents may enjoy the freedom of their conscience in Court, and every where else.

These are the means proposed by these Catholick Remonstrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to Peace; these the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant Counsel they would have followed, in settling the Tranquillity and present Government of this Land; so as we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the secret causes of their first rising: We have here enough out of their own Mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this Rebellion. And now for the matter of Religion, howsoever I am very confident they ever really intended the Re-establishment of that of the Church of Rome, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all of the Reformed profession: Yet considering the large indulgence, and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full exercise of that their Religion throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; it may be most justly suspected (how zealously soever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward coverture made use of by the principal Undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant superstitious People to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable Man be ever presumed, that such Persons as made no Conscience of committing Treason, so many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be parallel'd in any other Country, could be drawn merely out of Conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and publick profession of their Religion.

The re-
establis-
ment of
the Romish
Religion,
only a
pretence
for the
Rebellion.

1641.

All the Grievances of the Kingdom redressed before the Rebellion brake out.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up Arms, than the redress of their pretended Grievances, whereunto his Majesty had condescended, and out of his Inclinations for their present Relief, had given much more satisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, than ever they could expect to receive in any other time, or hope to enjoy. Yet we see how little effect those great Graces brought over not above two Months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them: For presently after the return of their Agents with them, this most detestable Conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we shall consider their main Design and chief Ends therein, as they appear in their first Principles, or will give credit to the several Speeches and Passages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as also to several other Testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular Persons among them, we must believe that their Design clearly was to destroy and root out all the *British* and *Protestants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and so to deliver themselves from their long continued Subjection to the *English* Nation.

A Consultation held, whether it will be best to murder, or only to banish all the *British* out of *Ireland*.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a most serious Consultation what course to take with most safety to themselves, for the disburthening of the Kingdom of those multitudes of *English*, which were in very great numbers dispersedly planted among them. Some were of Opinion, that they should spare their Lives, and not render themselves guilty of the spilling of so much innocent Blood, but that they should seize on their Goods, expel them their Habitations, and after banishing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many hundred Thousands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of Lenity and Moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby. First, That the *British* were in so great numbers, as they could not either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from Mischief: Then, that if they only expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit Instruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengeful Thoughts to recover their Losses; that by their long Experience and Knowledge in the Country, they would be better Guides, therefore more deeply engaged to prosecute the War; and having their Bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Soldiers than any new Men that could be raised, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I shall not undertake to declare; my Intelligence

telligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the Result of 1641. this great Council than appears in the bloody Effects and horrid Executions acted in the first beginnings of their Rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive Conclusion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first Proceedings and Outrages committed upon the *English* very various and much differing in several places, some only stripping and expelling of them; others murdering Man, Woman and Child without Mercy. But this is certain, and of most unquestionable Truth, that by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the *British* and *Protestants* out of *Ireland*. And that these were the first Thoughts and bitter Fruits of the long premeditated malicious Intentions, sufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent Expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the Kingdom was their own. They then said openly, that they meant to destroy the *English*, and that they had made a Covenant no *English* Man should set footing among them. Some of the *Irish* would not endure the very sound of that (*b*) Language, but would have Penalties inflicted upon them that spake *English*, and all the *English* Names of Places changed into the old *Irish* Denominations: Others professed that they would not leave an *English* Man or Woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all should be gone; no, not so much as *English* Beast, or any of the breed of them. *James Hallegan* the Priest did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great *Irish* Metropolitan; and terrifying his Parishioners therewith, he told them, that from that day forth, whosoever did harbour or (*c*) relieve

The *Irish* resolve to root the *English* out of *Ireland*.

Master *Creighton*, in his Examination.

(*b*) The *Irish* in many places killed *English* Cows and Sheep meerly because they were *English*; in some places they cut off their Legs, or took a piece out of their Buttocks, and so let them remain still alive. The Lord *Montgarret*, Mr. *Edward Butler*, the Baron of *Logmough*, went with their Forces into *Munster* about the beginning of the rising of the *Irish* there, and while they remained about *Callen* and *Mallow*, they consumed no less than fifty thousand, others say an hundred thousand *English* Sheep, besides a great abundance of *English* Cattle; and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitudes stinking, to the great Annoyance of the Country. This testified by *Henry Champarr*, in his Examination taken before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knight, &c.

(*c*) *James Shaw*, a Minister deposeth, That after the Cessation, divers of the Rebels confessed the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare Man, Woman nor Child that were Protestants; and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the Blood of the Protestants whom they had slain. *Jurat*. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnson, Vicar of *Tullab*, of the County of *Mayo*, deposeth, That he heard *Stephen Linob*, Prior of *Srade*, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this Deponent because he would not go to Mass; answered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill

1641. lieve any *Scott, English, or Welsh* Man, or give them Alms at their doors, should be excommunicated, whereby, as Mr. *Sacbeveril* testifies in his Examination, many were starved and died for want in those parts. We have it from Mr. *Creighton*, a reverend Minister, one long detained Prisoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Fryars exhorted the People with Tears to spare none of the *English*; that the *Irish* were resolved to destroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the Seed of the *English* out of *Ireland*; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *English* Name under Heaven.

And so fond and vain were their Imaginations, and to such a height of Madness were they grown, as they could not terminate their Thoughts in the Reduction of *Ireland* under the power of their own Nation. But as soon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they spake confidently in all places of transporting their Arms into *England*, that they would send 30000 Men over into that Kingdom; and that they would draw in Foreign Auxiliaries thither to join with them; and so by a high hand establish the free Exercise of the *Romish* Religion within that Kingdom. A design certainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own Thoughts, and by their Correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their Affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleased God in an extraordinary way to bring the first Plot to light, and so to bless the weak Endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*; I leave it to every one to consider with how much advantage they might have gone on at that time towards the accomplishment of so desperate a Project. And for my self, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first over-mastered the unexpected Difficulties and fatal Impediments they met withal at home, and possessed themselves of the Arms and Munition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so flesh'd and blooded in the Slaughter of many thousands of the *English* Nation, had transported a numerous Army of *Irish* Rebels, and suddenly landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the miserable Desolation and Ruin

kill a Sheep or a Dog: And divers of the rebellious Soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would do a Pig.

John Addis, of the County of *West-Meath*, deposes, That *Robert Magobagan*, Priest, said to this Deponent, that it was no more Pity nor Conscience to take *English* Mens Lives or Goods from them, than to take a Bone out of a Dog's Mouth, *Jurat.* July 21. 1642.

thereof.

thereof. It must be remembered in what a most unhappy discomposure the Affairs were at that time there; what a diseased Body the State then had, and what high Distempers then strongly working, soon after brake out, what a strong Party they might have found within, and with what great Reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late Victories achieved in *Ireland*, signaling the power of their Arms with such horrid Cruelties and bloody Butcheries, as would have wrought a strange Terror among the People. 1641.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewise who were the chief Actors and the great Instruments designed by the first Plotters to pre-dispose the People to a readiness to take Arms for the rooting out of the *British* Inhabitants from among them. The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all points ripe for Execution, it was carried on to the Evening before the Day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without discovery. And tho' it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to disappoint it in the main Piece, yet it took in the Northern Parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the Province of *Ulster*. And whereas the Priests did long before in their publick Devotions at Mass pray for a Blessing upon a great Design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the People a dismiss at Mass with free liberty to go out, and take Possession of all their Lands, which they pretended, were unjustly detained from them by the *English*; as also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattle. They had, without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick Instructions, not to leave to the *English* any Thing that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer Subsistence among them. This was the main bait used to draw on the common People; and this wrought far more powerfully than all other Persuasions, Fictions, or wild *Chimera's* that they infused into them. It is most apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all parts, as well as their Clergy, pressed them on to despoil the *English* of all their Goods and Cattle, well knowing their avaricious Humour and greedy Desires to get them into their Possession, and that they could not possibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to execute all manner of Villanies, than the hopes of enjoying so rich a Prey now presented unto them.

The *English* Goods presented to the *Irish* as a chief means to raise them up against them.

1641.

The people made to believe by their Priests that it was a Meritorious Act to kill the English.

The Irish rise and first drive away all the Cattle belonging to the English.

The Irish Gentlemen possess themselves of the Goods belonging to the English, under pretence of securing them.

The People being now set at liberty, and prepossessed by their Priests with a belief that it was Lawful for them to rise up, and (d) destroy all the Protestants, who, they told them, were worse than Dogs; that they were Devils, and served the Devil; assuring them the killing of such was a meritorious Act, and a rare preservative against the pains of Purgatory, gathered themselves together in great Numbers, assembling in several Companies through the several parts of the Northern Counties, with Staves, Sithes, and Pitch-forks, for at first they had not many better weapons: And so in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously to drive away at the first, only the Cattle belonging to the English, and then to break into their Houses, and seize upon their Goods. It is true, there were some Murders committed the very first day of their rising, and some Houses set on Fire, but these as I conceive, were for the most part out of private Spleen, or where they had particular Instructions so to do, as they had from the Lord Mac-Guire, to kill Master Arthur Champion, a Justice of Peace in the County of Fermanagh, who with several other of his Neighbours, were Murdered at his own House, upon the 23d of October in the Morning. But certainly that which they mainly intended at first, and which they most busily employed themselves about, was the driving away the English-mens Cattle, and possessing their Goods: Wherein the common People were not the only Actors, but even the chief Gentlemen of the Irish in many places, most notoriously appeared, and under plausible pretences of securing their Goods from the rapine and spoil of the common sort, got much peaceably into their hands: And so confident were the English of their good dealing at first, as many delivered their Goods by retail unto them, gave them particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up such of their best things as they had hidden under ground, to deposite in their Custody. Much likewise they got by fair promises and deep engagements to do them no further mischief, to suffer them, their Wives and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others, and especially the meaner sort of People, fell more rudely to work, at the very first, breaking up of their Houses, and using all manner of force and violence, to make themselves Masters of their Goods.

(d) John Parry of Druermosh, in the County of Armagh, deposeth, that O Cullan a Priest, told his Auditors at Mass, that the bodies of such as died in this Quarrel, should not be cold before their Souls should ascend up into Heaven, and that they should be free from the pains of Purgatory.

Margaret Bremley in her Examination deposeth, That some of the Rebels would say, after their cruel Butcheries, that they knew if themselves should now die, their Souls should go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the English.

And

And having thus seized upon all their Goods and Cattle, ranfack'd 1641. their Houses, gotten their persons under their power; the next thing they did, was to strip Man, Woman and Child, many of them stark naked, and so to turn them out of their own doors, not permitting them in some places so much as to shelter themselves under Bushes, or in the Woods, and strictly prohibiting all the *Irish* under great penalties, to give them Entertainment, or any kind of Relief, as they passed on upon the High-ways. And certainly their design in this, most notoriously appears to have been no other than that all such as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly Murder in cold blood, might miserably perish of themselves through Cold, Nakedness and Want; and therefore as fast as any of them so stripped got old rags to cover their Nakedness, they endeavoured to strip them again, and again: as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*, who deposeth, that some were stripped twice, some thrice; as fast as they could get any old Rags to cover their Nakedness, the next *Irish* Woman, or even the Children that met them would take them off: And he and his Wife further depose, that when their House, together with the Town of *Armagh* were set on fire by the Rebels, she was stripped of her Clothes seven several times after she got other Clothes; and at length, they left her not so much as her Smock or Hair-lace; and that she got to a place and hid her self in a hutch for three or four Days, and after went to find out her Children, two of which had the Small-Pox visibly upon them. *Jurat. Nov. 8th 1642.*

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their Devilish ends hereby, is but too well known: The *English* leaving sufficient Monuments in the High-ways as they passed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing Examinations.

James Redfern, of the County of *London-derry*, Deposeth, That in the Town of *Colerain*, since the Rebellion began, there died of Robbed and Stripped people that fled thither for Succour, many hundreds, besides those of the Town who had anciently dwelt there, and that the Mortality there was such, and so great, as many thousands died there in two Days, and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the Carcases of those dead Persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them so close and thick, as if they had packed up Herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris*, in the *King's-County*, Widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That she, this Deponent, and divers others Protestants, her Neighbours, and amongst the rest, twenty two Widows, after they were all robbed, were also strip'd stark naked, and then they covering themselves in a House with Straw, the

The next Act was to strip the *English*, man, woman, and child stark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors. All manner of relief forbidden to the *English* as they passed upon the High-ways; stripped and despoiled of all they had. The manner of stripping the *English* The miseries and mortality it brought among them.

1641. Rebels then and there lighted the Straw with fire, and threw amongst them, on purpose to burn them; where they had been burned or smothered, but that some of the Rebels more pitiful than the rest, commanded these cruel Rebels to forbear, so as they escaped: Yet the Rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild Woods, from Tuesday until Saturday in Frost and Snow, so as the Snow unmelted, lay long upon some of their skins, and some of their Children died in their Arms: And when as the Deponent and the rest endeavoured to have gone away for Refuge to the *Burre*, the cruel Rebels turned them again, saying, they should go towards *Dublin*; and when they endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindered them again, and said, they should go to the *Burre*; and so tossed them to and fro: Yet at length, such of those poor stripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were harboured and relieved by one *William Parson*, Esq; And yet there died at the *Burre* of those strip'd Persons, about forty Men, Women and Children. And this Deponent, and those other strip'd People that survived, lived miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they, with the rest, had Quarter to come from thence to *Dublin*.

Jan. 7 March 1642.

John Watson,
William Aldrich.

And, the Relief of *Christopher Porter*, late of *Dowris*, in the *King's Colony*, sworn and examined, deposed and said, in all the Particulars above-mentioned, as *Magdalen Reaman*, before examined, being her Neighbour.



Some

*Some of the most Notorious Cruelties, and
Barbarous Murders committed by the IRISH
Rebels, attested upon Oath, as they appear in several
Examinations here annexed.*

WE may in these poor Souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the Miseries of all those multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanly stripped, and so exposed to the same Want, Cold, and Nakedness. The Mercies of the Wicked are Cruel: How bitter was their Compassion to all those *British* that thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the Commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were, as they told them at first, but the beginnings of their Sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own strength, and that partly by Treachery, partly by Force, they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in *Ulster*, disarmed the *English*, robbed them of their Goods and Cattle, stripped them of their Clothes, and had their Persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable Resistance made by them, then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce, outrageous manner, furiously broke out, acting in all places of that Province, with most abominable Cruelty, those horrid Massacres and execrable Murders, as would make any Christian Ear to tingle at the sad Commemoration of them. Then they began to appear in their own Colours, and with great delight to satiate their ancient implacable Malice, in their long wished and often plotted Destruction of all the *British* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh*, multitudes were presently killed in cold Blood, some taken at the Plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own Houses, others travelling upon the Ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off. At the Castle of *Lisgool*, within the County, above one hundred and fifty Men, Women and Children almost all

1641.

A particular Enumeration of several bloody Massacres and horrid Cruelties, exercised upon the *British*, all testified upon Oath, and taken out of several Examinations, which are inserted in the Notes at the end of the Page. Multitudes killed in cold Blood.

(c) *Thomas Wenlaw* and *John Simton*, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gentlemen, depose and say, That in the Castle of *Lisgool*, there were one hundred and fifty two Men, Women and Children burnt, or smothered, when the said Castle was taken, nor above two or three escaped, as appears in their Examination. *Tues. Jan. 12. Anno Dom. 1641.*

1641. consumed by Fire. At the Castle of (f) *Moneab*, near one hundred *British* there slain all together: And the same bloody Company of Rebels were no sooner admitted into the Castle of (g) *Tullab*, which was delivered up into the hands of *Roury Mac-Gwire*, upon Composition, and faithful Promises of fair Quarter, but that within the very Court they began to strip the People, and most cruelly put them to the Sword, murdering them all without Mercy. (h) At *Liffenskeab* they hanged, or otherwise killed, above one hundred Persons, most of them of the *Scotish* Nation; for after once they had the *English* in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the *Scots* with as much Cruelty as they did the *English*. This County was very well planted by the *British* Undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants in a very short space after a most horrible manner quite destroyed, or utterly banished from their Habitations: In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the *British* were much more numerous, and *Sir Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh O Neal*, the principal Actors, the Murders of the *British*, were much more multiplied and committed with greater Cruelty, if it were possible, than in any other places.

There were (i) one thousand Men, Women and Children, carried out at several times in several Troops, and all unmercifully drowned at the Bridge of *Portnedown*, which was broken down in the midst, and so

(f) *Thomas Wenslaw* further deposes, That at the Castle of *Moneab*, there were ninety Protestants more slain and murdered: And that from the Castle of *Moneab*, the Rebels marched to the Castle of *Tullab*, where by their own Confession, they promised those Protestants that were there fair Quarters: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Castle, those Rebels in the Bawn of the Castle, first stripped them all of their Cloathes, and then, and there most cruelly murdered them.

(g) *Richard Bourk*, Batchelour in Divinity, of the County of *Fermanagh*, deposes, That he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at least in the Castle of *Tullab*, and that the same was done after fair Quarter promised. *Jurat.* July 12. 1643.

(h) *Roury Mac-Gwire*, upon the 24th of *October* 1641. came with his Company unto *Liffenskeab*, and desired in a friendly manner to speak with *Mr. Middleton*, who had the keeping of the Castle. The first thing he did as soon as he was entered therein, was to burn the Records of the County, whereof *Mr. Middleton* was the Keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one thousand Pounds he had in his hands of *Sir William Balfour's*; which as soon as he had, he compelled the said *Middleton* to bear Mass, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his Wife and his Children to be hanged up; and hanged and murdered one hundred Persons besides, at least in that Town. These particulars, and several other, set down at large in a Relation sent me by *Sir John Dunbar*, Knight, one of the Justices of Peace within the County of *Fermanagh*.

(i) One thousand Men, Women and Children were drowned in one place. This number is deposed in *Dr. Maxwell's Examination*, taken the 22d of *August* 1643.

driving

driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River: And as other 1641. Relations give it in, (k) four thousand Persons were drowned within the several parts of that County. (l) The Rebels in a most barbarous manner drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians unto the place of their Sufferings like Swine; and if any were slack in their Pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their Swords and Pikes, often halstning on the rest either by killing or wounding some of their Fellows in the way.

(m) Other Companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe Conduct out of the Country, and so got them to go chearfully on by vertue of Sir *Phelim O Neal's* Pass, until they came at some place fit for their Execution. (n) And if they drowned them, then they had some prepared to shoot or knock down with Poles any such as could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the Water. (o) Amongst

(k) This number of so many Persons drowned within the County of *Armagh*, is deposited by *Thomas Green*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, as appears by their Examinations, taken November 10. 1643.

(l) *William Clerk*, of the County of *Armagh*, Tanner, saith, That he with one hundred Men, Women and Children, or thereabout, were by the Rebels driven like Hogs about six Miles, to a River called the *Band*: In which space the foresaid Christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting them into their Tides, and they murdered three by the way, and the rest they drove to the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the Bridge, which was cut down, and with their Pikes and Swords, and other Weapons; thrust them down headlong into the said River, and immediately they perished; and those who assumed to swim to the Shoar, the Rebels stood and shot at. *Jurat*. Jan. 7. 1641.

Mary, the Wife of *Ralph Corn*, deposeth, That one hundred and eighty English were taken by the Irish, and driven like Cattle from *Castle-Cumber* to *Athy*.

(m) *Elizabeth*, the Wife of Captain *Rue Price*, of the Town and County of *Armagh*, deposeth, That five of her Children, together with one hundred and ten other Protestants, out of the Parishes of *Armagh*, *Laughaul*, and other places, were sent away with Passes from Sir *Phelim O Neal*. with promise to be safely conveyed over to their Friends in *England*: That their Conduktor was Captain *Manus O Cane* and his Soldiers, who having brought, or rather driven them like Sheep or Beasts to the Bridge of *Portnedown*, there forced or threw all those poor Prisoners into the Water, together with the Deponents's five Children, and then and there drowned most of them. (n) And those who could swim and come to the Shoar, they either knocked them on the head, and so after drowned them, or else shot them to death in the Water. *Jurat*. Jan. 29. 1641.

(n) *Christian Stanhaw*, the Relict of *Henry Stanhaw*, of the Parish of *Laughaul*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth, That upon the drowning of one hundred and forty Protestants one time at *Portnedown-Bridge*, after they had thrown them in, some of them swimming to the Shoar, the Rebels with their Muskets knocked out their Brains. *Jurat*. July 23. 1642.

(o) *James Shaw*, of *Market-Hill*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth the manner of *Mistress Cambel's* pulling the Rebel into the Water, and how he was drowned with her. *Jurat*. Aug. 14. 1642.

1641. many others, a Gentlewoman, whose Name was *Cambell*, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and she finding no means to escape their Fury, suddenly clasped her Arms about one of the chief Rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the Water; and, as I find it credibly related upon Oath, carried him to the bottom with her, and so they were both drowned together. (p) The Cathedral Church and Town of *Armagh* were burnt, many Towns laid waste, all the fair Plantations made by the *British* left desolate; in some Parishes (q) two hundred Families murdered and destroyed, the whole Country, as it were a common Butchery; and thorough all parts of it very many Thousands perished in a short time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that Rage and Malice could invent.

Some
horrid in-
human
Cruelties
exercised
upon par-
ticular
Persons.

But before I leave this Subject, I shall pass a little further, and out of some Examinations (taken here upon Oath, which I have perused) present a brief Collection of some other horrid inhuman Cruelties, which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent Souls. To many, these bloody Villains shewed so much favour, as suddenly to dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or (r) time to say

(p) Captain *Parkin* deposeth, That Sir *Phelim O Neal* flying from *Dundalk*, went to *Armagh*, where he began his bloody Massacres, causing *Manus O Caine* to get together all the Protestants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to *Colerain*; but before they were scarce a day's Journey from him; they were all murdered; and so were several others by special direction from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh*, notwithstanding they were protected by them. All the aged People in *Armagh* were by the same directions carried away, but murdered also at *Charlemount*. And presently after, his Brother and he, with their Adherents, maliciously set on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of *Armagh*, and Town of *Armagh*, and murdered and drowned there five hundred Persons, young and old. At the Parish of *Killaman*, forty eight Families were then murdered by directions from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a Year. *Jurat.* March 8. 1643.

(q) *John Grace*, the Wife of *Nicholas Grace*, late of *Kilmore*, in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth, That there were two and twenty *English* Protestants burnt in one House, within two Miles of *Kilmore*; and that the Rebels stripped, killed, or murdered all, or the most of the *English* of that Parish, which consisted of two hundred Families. That they searched in the Stocks until they confessed their Money, and when they could get no more, that then they murdered them.

(r) *Edward Saltinglast*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth, and saith, That *George Lowitz*, a Rebel of the said County, resolving to kill *John Cowder*, told him he would kill him; but bid him first say his Prayers; whereupon the said *Cowder* kneeling down to pray, the said *Lowitz* instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees. *Jurat.* June 1. 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, That when as divers of the *English* were about to be murdered, and desired the Rebels on their Knees first to admit them to make their Prayers to GOD; the Rebels have often, in her, the Deponent's hearing, in *Irish*, answered and said, *Be-
queath*

lay their Prayers; for others, they held a sudden death too easy a punishment. Therefore they imprisoned (s) some in most beastly Dungeons, full of Dirt and Mire, and there clapping Bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leisure; others they barbarously (t) mangled, and left languishing upon the High-ways, crying out but for so much Mercy as to be delivered out of their pain.

Others they buried (u) alive, a manner of death they used to several British in several places. And (v) at Cloninis within the County of Fermanagh, there were seventeen Persons having been hanged till they were half dead, cast together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pittingly, sending out most lamentable groans for a good time after. (w) Some were deadly wounded and so hanged upon Tentor-

questh your Soul to the Devil; and at other times the Rebels would say, Why should you pray, your Soul is with the Devil already? And with those words in their Mouths would slaughter and put them to death. Jurat, ut supra.

(s) *Edward Banks, of Cassel, in the County of Tipperary, Clerk, deposeseth, That the Rebels there, on the first Day of January, killed fifteen Men and Women, all English Protestants, at Cassel, and that they entered and took the Town; and having the same, that they took this Deponent, and other Clergymen, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve Weeks in most miserable Slavery. Jurat, April, 21. 1642.*

(t) *John Cregg, in the County of Armagh, Yeoman, deposeseth, That in the Parish of Lennegish, there were divers English Men cruelly murdered, some twice, some thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their Miseries by killing of them. Jurat, Jan. 7. 1641.*

(u) *William Parkinson of Castle-Cumber, in the County of Kilkenny, Gent. deposeseth, That by the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were Eye-witnesses of a bloody Murder committed near Kilsnal in the Queens-County, upon an Englishman, his Wife, four or five Children, and a Maid. All which were hanged, by the command of Sir Morgan Garvanagh, and Robert Harpool, and afterwards put all in one Hole, the youngest Child being not fully dead, put out the hand and cried Maminny, Maminny, when without mercy they buried him alive. Jurat, Feb. 11th 1642.*

Elizabeth Price deposeseth, That Thomas Mason, an English Protestant of Loughl, being extremely beaten and wounded, was carried away by his Wife and some others, for revenge of which, the Rebels most cruelly hacked, slashed and wounded them; and that done, dragged the said Mason unto a hole, and then and there threw Earth, Stones and Rubbilla upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, so as the said Mason's Wife told this Deponent, he cryed out and languished, till his own Wife, to put him out of his pain, rather than hear him cry still, tyed her Handkerchief over his Mouth, and therewith stopped his Breath, so as he died. Jurat, June 29. 1641.

(v) This particular, concerning the seventeen Men buried alive at Cloninis, was testified unto me by Mrs. Aldrich, who was then kept Prisoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their pitiful cries.

(w) *William Parkinson, late of Castle-Cumber in the County of Kilkenny, deposeseth, That he saw Lewis O Brennan, with his Sword drawn in the said Town, pursue after an English*

1641. Tentorhooks. (*) Some had Ropes put about their Necks, and so drawn through the Water; some had Withes, and so drawn up and down thorough Woods and Bogs; others were hanged up and taken down, and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess their Money, which as soon as they had told, they then dispatched them out of the way. (y) Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many slashes and cuts they made the Experiment with their Swords how many blows an *English-man* would endure before he died. Some had their (z) Bellies ripped up, and so left with their Guts running about their Heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman Monsters

Irish Boy of Eight or Nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name *Richard Berner*, into an House, and saw the said *Lewis* laid the said Boy forth of the House, the Blood running about his Ears, in a Hair Rope, and led the Boy to his Father's Tentors, and there Hanged him with *John Banks* another little Boy. *Jurat. ut supra.*

(*) *Edward Saltingstone*, of the County *Armagh*, of Gent.^y deposeth, That *Mamus O Cane*, *Bryan O Kelly*, *Shane O Neil*, *Neil Oge O Neil*, Gent. did take *William Blandel* of *Grange*, in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and put a rope about his Neck, and threw him into the Black-water at *Charlemount*, and drew him up and down the Water to make him Confess his Money, who thereupon gave them twenty one pounds, yet within three Weeks after, he, his Wife, and seven Children were drowned by the Rebels. And further saith, that *Samuel Law* of *Grenan*, in the Parish of *Armagh*, was by the said *Neil Oge O Neil*, and others, brought to a Wood, and that then, they there put a With about his Neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them ten pounds. *Jurat. ut supra.*

Margaret Fermoy, in the County of *Fermanagh*; deposeth, That the Rebels bound her and her Husband's hands behind them, to make them confess their Money, and dragged them up and down in a Rope, and cut his Throat in her own sight with a Skein, having first knocked him down, and stripped him, and that being an aged Woman seventy five years old, as she came up afterwards to *Dublin*, she was stripped by the *Irish* seven times in one Day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them Clothes. *Jurat.*

(y) *Edward Wilson* of the County of *Monaghan*, deposeth, That among other cruelties used by the Rebels to the *English*, they hung up some by the Arms, and then hacked them with their Swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died. *Jurat.*

(z) *Anne* the Wife of *Mervin Madley*, late of the City of *Kilkenny*, Gent. sworn and examined, deposeth, That some of the Rebels in *Kilkenny* aforesaid, struck and bear a poor *English-woman* until she was forced into a Ditch, where she died, those barbarous Rebels having first ripped up her Child, of about six years of Age, and let her Guts run about her Heels. *Jurat.*

James Geate of the County of *Monaghan*, deposeth, That the Rebels at *Clownis* Murdered one *James Netterville*, Proctor to the Minister there, who although he was diversly wounded, his Belly ripped up, and his Entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this Depo- nent being an Eye-witness, much wondered; and thus barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with them. *Jurat. April 6. 1642.*

sters for (a) Women, whose sex they neither pity'd nor spar'd, hanging up 1641.
several Women, many of them great with Child, whose (b) Bellies they
ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a course
they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition. (c)
And sometimes they gave their Children to Swine; (d) some the Dogs
eat; and some taken (e) alive out of their Mothers Bellies, they cast into
Ditches. . And for sucking Children, and others of a riper age, some (f)
had

(a) Owen Frankland of the City of Dublin, deposeeth, That Michael Garray told this Deponent, that there was a Scotchman, who being driven by the Rebels out of the Newry, and knock'd on the Head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the Town naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of the Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a Skein ripped his Wives Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb. Jurat. July 23. 1642.

(b) At Ballinacolough within four miles of the City of Ross, in April 1642. John Stone of the Graige, his Son, his two Sons-in-Law, and his two Daughters, were hanged; one of his Daughters being great with Child, her Belly was ripped up, her Child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly Actions used to her, as are not fit to mentioned.

(c) Philip Taylor late of Portnedown, deposeeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyer's Wife of Ross-treuer, at the Newry, and ript up her Belly, she being great with Child of two Children, and threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he this Deponent drove away Swine from eating one of the Children. Jurat.

(d) John Montgomery of the County of Monaghan, sworn and examined, saith, That one Brian Mac-Erony, Ringleader of the Rebels in the County of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worcum, and four of their Servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to Death, they buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the Daughter-in-Law of one Foard in the Parish of Clownish, being delivered of a Child in the Fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her Husband and Father, killed her and two of her Children, and suffered the Dogs to eat up and devour her new-born Child. Jurat. June 26. 1642.

(e) Katharine, the Relict of William Coke, of the County of Armagh, Carpenter, deposeeth, That the Rebels of the said County robbed, stripped and murdered a great Company of Protestants, some by Burning, some by the Sword, some by Hanging, and the rest by starving, and other Deaths. And this Deponent to shun their Rage, and save her poor Life, hid her self in a Ditch of Water, and sat there among high Rushes so long, as that she was almost frozen and starved to Death, and then crawled away secretly. And further saith, that some of the Rebels that escaped and fled from the Battle of Lisnagarvey, meeting one Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Frankland, both great with Child, and six of their Children with them, those Rebels then and there with their Pikes killed and murdered them all, and after ripped open the Gentlewomens Bellies, took out their Children, the one of them being quick and threw them into a Ditch, in the sight of Jane this Deponent's Daughter; who escaped because she spake Irish, and said she was an Irish Woman. Jurat. Febr. 24. 1643.

(f) James Stevenson, Clerk of the County of Leitrim, deposeeth, That the Rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young Child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and enquiring whose Child it was, they told him it was a Scottish-man's Child, whereupon they took the Child by the Heels, and run and beat the Brains of it out against a Tree. Jurat. April 20, 1643.

1641. had their Brains knock'd out; others (g) were trampled under foot to death; (h) some they cut in gobbets and pieces, (i) others they rip'd up alive; (k) some were found in the Fields, sucking the Breasts of their murder'd Mothers; others lay stifled in Vaults and Cellars; others (l) starved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to send them out to be killed by the Rebels, than to suffer them to starve there. Mul-

(g) *Anne Hill*, Wife of *Arthur Hill*, in the County of *Catherlaugh*, deposeeth, That as she passed through the County of *Wicklow*, *William* the Plaisterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her back a young Child of one Year and a Quarter old, threw it on the Ground, trod on it that it died, stripped her self and four small Children, who by the Cold they thereby got, since Died. *Jurat.*

(h) *John Stubbs* of the County of *Longford*, Gent. deposeeth, That he heard by some of the Sheriffs Men, that *Henry Mead* and his Wife, *John Bigel*, *William Stell*, and *Daniel Stubbs* the Deponent's brother, were put to Death by *Lisagh Farrols*, and *Oli. Fitz-Gerralds* Men, who hanged them upon a Wind-Mill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their Skeins. *Jurat. Novemb. 21. 1641.*

El. Price deposeeth, That a great number of poor Protestants, especially of Women and Children, they pricked and stabbed with their Skeins, Pitchforks and Swords, and would flash, mangle and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to Death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a Day or two, they would dash out their Brains with Stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which she hath in many Particulars been an Eye-witness. *Jurat. June 29. 1642.*

(i) *William Parkinson* of *Kilkenny* Esq; deposeeth, That the Wife of *John Harvey* told him, That she being at *Kilkenny*, and having there turned to Mass to save her Life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her Children, and one *Purcell* a Butcher, after he had stripped her Daughter of five Years of age, ripped up her Body till her intrails fell out, whereof she died that Night; whereof she complaining to the Major of *Kilkenny*, he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the Butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her Life. *Jurat. July 2. 1642.*

(k) *Elizabeth Champion* late Wife of *Arthur Champion* in the County of *Fermanagh* Esq; deposeeth, That when the Castle of *Lisgeol* was set on fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a Window to save her self from burning, was murdered by the Rebels; and next Morning her Child was found sucking her Breast, and also murdered by them. *Jurat. April 26. 1642.*

Charity Chappel, late Wife of *Richard Chappel* Esq; of the Town and County of *Armagh*, deposeeth, That as she hath credibly heard, the Rebels murdered great Numbers of Protestants, and that many Children were seen lying murder'd in Vaults and Cellars, whither they fled to hide themselves. *Jurat. July 2. 1642.*

Thomas Fleerwood, late Curate of *Killbeggan* in the County of *Westmeath*, deposeeth, That he hath heard from the Mouth of the Rebels themselves of great Cruelties acted by them: And for one instance, that they stab'd the Mother, one *Jane Addis* by name, and left her little sucking Child, not a quarter old, by the dead Corps; and then they put the breast of its dead Mother into its Mouth, and bid it suck *English-bastard*, and so left it there to perish. *Jurat. March 22. 1642.*

(l) *Mary Barlow*, deposeeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels hanged before her face, she and six Children were stripped stark naked, and turned out a begging in Frost and Snow, by means whereof they were almost starved, having nothing to eat in three Weeks, while

Multitudes of (m) Men, Women and Children, were found drowned, 1641. cast into Ditches, Boggs and Turf-pits; the ordinary Sepultures of the *British* Nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to stay. (n) Multitudes enclosed in Houses, which being set on fire, they were there most miserably consumed. (o) Some dragged out of their sick Beds to the place of Execution; (p) Children, enforced to carry

while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-Skins, which they beat with Stones, and so eat them, hair and all; her Children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels, than to starve there. *Jurat.*

(m) *John Duffield*, of the County of *Armagh*, Gent. deposeth, That the Rebels wounded *John Ward* and *Richard Duffield*, so as they thereof died, and that their Wives and the said *John's* six Children, being all stript, died of want and cold. And further saith, That many thousands of Protestants, Men, Women, and Children, being stripped of their Cloaths, died also of cold and want in several parts of the Country. *Jurat.* Aug. 9. 1642.

(n) *Jane* the Wife of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumcud* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. Sworn and Examined saith, That her Husband and his Mother about 88 Years old, and his Brother, being murder'd by the Rebels in the Parish of *Kilmore*, that a great number of Protestants were about *Candlemas* 1641. by the means and instigation of *Jean Hemskin*, formerly a Protestant, but a meer *Irish* Woman, and lately turned to Mass, and of divers other her assistants, forced and thrust into a thatch'd House within the Parish of *Kilmore*, and then and there, the Protestants being almost naked, covered with Rags only, the same House was by that bloody Woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts thereof, the poor imprisoned parties (who were by armed Parties kept there locked in) were miserably burned to death, and at length the House fell upon them; and the combustible part of the House being consumed before the Bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the Bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were Protestants, three only escaped out of a Hole of the House, and the rest that attempted to escape the Flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death. *Jurat.* June 16. 1642.

(o) *Katharine Madefon* of the County of *Fermanagh*, deposeth, That they drew some lying sick of Fevers, out of their Beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them of Men, Women and Children; to the number of sixteen, and drowned them in a Boggy-pit, knocking such on the Head with Poles, as endeavoured to get out.

(p) *Thomas Green* in the Parish of *Dumcres* in the County of *Armagh*, Yeoman, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, sworn and examined, saith, That the Deponent *Thomas Green* hardly escaped away with his Life, but that the other Deponent and six Children were all left among the Rebels, and so stripped of their Clothes, and hunger-starved, that five of the Children dyed, and she this Deponent being put to beg among the merciless Rebels, was at length rescued from them by the *Scottish* Army: She further saith, that the Rebels did drown in a Bog, seventeen Men, Women, and Children, at one time within the said Parish; and she is verily perswaded that the Rebels at several times and places within the County of *Armagh*, drowned above 4000 Protestants, enforcing the Sons and Daughters of those very aged People, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their Beds and Houses, and carry them to drowning, especially in the River of *Toll*, in the Parish of *Loghall*, *Jurat.* November 10. 1643.

1641. carry their aged Parents to the Places designed for their slaughter; (g) nay, some Children compelled most unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents, Wives to help to hang their Husbands, (r) Mothers to cast their own Children into the Water; and yet after these enforced Acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and assurance to have their own Lives saved, always murdered. And such was the malice and most detestable hatred born to the *English* by the *Irish*, as they taught their (s) Children to kill *English* Children, and the (t) *Irish* Women did naturally express as much cruelty as the chiefest Rebels among them.

If

(g) *John Rusledge* deposeth, That such were the barbarous and inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, that sometimes they enforced the Wife to kill the Husband, the Son to kill the Father, and the Daughter to kill the Mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last Blood-shedder. He further saith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of *Slego*, forced one *Lewis* the younger to kill his Father, and then hanged the Son; and in *Mogue*, in the County of *Maya*, the Rebels forced one *Simon Laper's* Wife to kill her Husband, and then caused her Son to kill her, and then they hanged the Son.

(r) This is deposed in Mr. *Goldsmith's* Examination, which is set forth at large in the Pages following.

(s) *Anne Read*, the Relict of *Helchiah Read*, of the County of *Leitrim*, deposeth, That she being stripped of all she had, some of her Children died of want and famine, and that one of her Sons called *Stephen Read*, being about six years of age, was about the 10th of February, 1641. in the House of *James Gray* of the County of *Cavan*, and going forth to play, there then gathered about him six *Irish* Children of that Town, who suddenly fell upon him, and in such manner that some with Sticks, and some with Stones, put out his Eyes, and bruised his Body extreamly, so that he by means of those Children (which were none of them, as she is perswaded, above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed out-right in the place, had not an *English* Woman come thither, who took up the dying Child from them, saying, she wonder'd they could find in their hearts so to deal with a poor Child; but they answered, they would do as much for her if they were able. Jurat. July 12. 1642.

(t) *Dennis Kelly* of the County of *Meath*, deposeth, That *Garret Tallon* of *Crusstown* in the said County, Gent. (as is commonly reported) hired two Men to kill *Ann Hagely*, Wife to *Edward Tallon* his Son, a Papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two Men did in most bloody manner, with Skeins, kill the said *Ann Hagely* and her Daughter, and her Daughter's two Children, because they would not consent to go to Mass; and after they would not permit them to be buried in a Church or Church-yard, but they four were buried in a Ditch. Jurat. August 23. 1643.

John Griffel of the *Queen's County*, deposeth, That the Women and Children in those parts, were as cruel and forward as the Men Rebels, the Children though young, being very bold in their Robberies, bidding this Deponent and the rest of the *English* be gone, or else they should be hanged.

Elizabeth Baskerville, deposeth, That she heard the Wife of *Florence Fitz-Patrick* find much fault with her Husband's Soldiers, because they did not bring along with them the Grease of Mrs. *Nicholson*, whom they had slain, for her to make Candles withal. Jurat. April 26. 1643.

Martha Culm, deposeth, That she heard some of the *Irish* themselves detect the cruelty of the Women who followed their Camp, and put them on in cruelty, saying, Spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child. Jurat.

(u) This

If these be not sufficient, let us over-look the particular Ends of some particular Persons, and we shall yet in them behold more horrid Cruelties than these before-mentioned. What (*) shall we say to a Child boiled to Death in a Cauldron, a (v) Woman hanged on a Tree, and in the hair of her head her own Daughter hanged up with her; (w) a Woman miserably rent and torn to pieces; (x) some taken by the Rebels, their Eyes plucked out, their Hands cut off, and so turned out to wander up and down; (y) others stoned to death; (z) a Man wounded and set upright in a hole digged in the Earth, and so covered up to the very Chin, there left in that miserable manner to perish; a (a) Man's feet held

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(*) This particular deposed by *Margaret Parkin*, as also by *Elizabeth Busfel*, who saith, That the Child was of twelve Years of Age, being the Child of *Thomas Straton*, of *Newtown*. Jurat. Jan. 19. 1641.

(v) The Wife of *Jonathan Linn* and his Daughter, were seized upon by the Rebels near the Town of *Catherlagh*, carried by them into a little Wood, called *Stapletown-Wood*, and there the Mother was hanged, and the Daughter hanged in the hair of her Mother's head, as is deposed by *James Shaw*, Vicar of *Old Loughlin*. Jan. 8. 1643.

(w) *Adam Clouer* deposeseth, That he saw upon the High-way a Woman left by the Rebels, stripped to her Smock, set upon by three Women and some Children, being *Irish*, who miserably rent and tore the said poor *English* Woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost and Snow, so that she fell in Labour in their hands, and both she and her Child died there. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

(x) This Cruelty was used to some *English* in the Province of *Conaught*, as was testified to the Lords Justices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.

(y) *Thomas Fleetwood*, Curate of *Kilbeggan*, in the County of *West-Meath*, deposeseth, That the Lord President of *Conaught*, caused an *English* Woman, who could speak *Irish*, to go toward *Dublin* with a Letter, but she was taken within five Miles of the Town of *Athlone*, brought back and stoned to death by the Women of the Town, dwelling on the hither side of the Bridge. Jurat.

James of *Hacker's Town*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, deposeseth, That an *Irish* Gentleman told him and others, that he turned an *English* Woman away who was his Servant, and had a Child; and that before the poor Woman and Child were gone half a Mile, divers *Irish* Women slew them with Stones. Jurat. April 21. 1643.

(z) *John Clerk*, of *Knockback*, Gent. deposeseth, That he heard credibly from *Mr. Lightbourne*, Minister of the *Naas*, that the Rebels shot a Parish-Clerk near *Kildare*, through both his Thighs, and afterwards digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they set him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the Earth, leaving only his head, in which state and posture they left the poor wounded Man, till he pined, languished, and so died. Jurat. Octob. 24. 1643.

(a) *Katharine*, the Relict of *William Coke*, of the County of *Armagh*, deposeseth, That many of her Neighbours who had been Prisoners among the Rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would confesse, brag, and boast, how they took an *English* Protestant, one *Robert Wilkinson*, at *Kilmore*, and held his feet in the fire until they burned him to death: And the same *Robert Wilkinson's* own Son was present, and a Prisoner, when that Cruelty was exercised on his Father. Jurat. Feb. 24. 1643.

(b) At

1641. in the fire till he was burnt to death, his Wife hanged at his door; (b) a Minister stripped stark naked, and so driven like a Beast thorough the Town of *Casbel*, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers; (c) a company of Men, Women, and Children, put into a House, and as they were burning, some Children that made an Escape out of the flames, were taken by the Rebels who stood by, cut them in pieces with Scythes, and so cast them into the fire again!

Neither did these horrible Tortures, which they put these poor innocent Christians unto, assuage their Fury; their Malice towards them did not determine with their Breath. But after so many several bloody Ways and cruel Inventions wherewith they rent their Souls from their wretched Bodies, even to their (d) dead Carcasses, in some places, they denied all manner of Burial; some (e) they cast into Ditches, others (f) they left to be devoured by Dogs and Swine, others by Fowls and ravenous Birds; nay,

(b) At *Casbel* in *Munster*, beside many Ministers which they there hanged after a most barbarous manner, they strip'd one naked, and drove him through the Town, pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead. *Jurat.* Feb. 24. 1643.

(c) *Christian Stanhaw*, the Relict of *Henry Stanhaw*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Esquire, deposeth, That a Woman that formerly lived near *Laugale*, absolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great number of Protestants, Men, Women, and Children, into a House which they set on fire purposely to burn them, as they did, and still as any of them offered to come out to shun the fire, the wicked Rebels with Scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, and burned them with the rest. *Jurat.* July 23. 1642.

(d) *Adam Clover*, of the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, That he observed thirty Persons to be most barbarously murdered, and about one hundred and fifty more cruelly wounded, so that Traces of Blood issuing from them, lay upon the High-way for twelve Miles together, and many very young Children were left and perished by the way, to the number of sixty, or thereabouts; because the Cruelties of the Rebels were such, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further saith, That some of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves, wherein to bury the dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor People left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous Beasts and Fowls. *Jurat.* Jan. 4. 1641.

(e) *Edward Sabinsfale*, deposeth, That the Rebels killed *William Loworden* when he was naked, his Wife and Children looking on, and cutting off his head, held it up to his Wife and Children; and his sorrowful Wife taking his Corps and burying of it in a Garden, *Patrick O Dally*, a Rebel, took it up, and threw it into a Ditch. *Jurat.* *ut supra*.

(f) *Thomas Green* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, depose, That the Rebels at several times murdered, killed and destroyed the most part of the Protestants in the Parish of *Dumcres*, being about three hundred, and indeed most of the Protestants in all the County thereabouts, did they kill and destroy, by drowning, hanging, burning, the Sword, starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered Bodies to be devour'd by Dogs, Swine, and other ravenous Creatures: And this Deponent, *Elizabeth*, saw the Dogs feed upon those dead Carcasses. *Jurat.* Nov. 10. 1643.

(g) *Rich.*

may, (g) several which had been formerly buried, they digged up, and left them to putrify above ground. 1641.

And these truly are but some of those ways, among many others which, with most exquisite Pains and cruel Tortures, were used by these merciless (b) Rebels to let in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unresisting People, that had always lived peaceably with them, (i) administering all manner of Helps and Comforts to those who were in distress; that made no difference betwixt them and those of their own Nation, but ever cherished them as Friends, and loving Neighbours, without giving any cause of Unkindness or Distaste unto them. It is not possible to recollect or express the Wickedness of their mischievous Inventions, or horror of their bloody Executions, actuated with all kind of circumstances that might aggravate the height of their Cruelty towards them. Alas! who can comprehend the Fears, Terrours, Anguish, Bitterness and Perplexity of their Souls, the despairing Passions and Consternation of their Mind! What strange amazed Thoughts must it needs raise in their sad Hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surpris'd without Remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward Miseries which could possibly by Man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What Sighs, Groans, Trembling! Astonishment! What Screeches, Cries, and bitter Lamentation of Wife and Children, Friends and Servants, howling and weeping about

(g) *Rich. Bourk*, Batchelour of Divinity, deposeth, That he was informed, that *Mr. Lodge*, Arch-deacon of *Killalow*, being buried about six Years since, and divers other Ministers Bones were digged out of their Graves as Patrons of Herefy, by direction of the titular Bishop of *Killalow*; and *Robert Jones*, a Minister, was not admitted Christian Burial, by direction of some Popish Priests. *Jurat.* July 12. 1643.

David Buck deposeth, That in the Parish of *Mumath*, in the *Queen's-County*, the Rebels digged up a number of *English* Mens Graves, and left the Corps above ground to be abused by Dogs, Hogs, or any other ravenous Creatures.

(b) *Arthur Aymoughy* deposeth, That during the Siege of *Castle-Fordex*, the Rebels killed poor Children that went out to eat Weeds or Grass; and that a poor Woman whose Husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two Children at her Feet, and one at her Breast, hoping to beg her Husband's Life; but they slew her and her sucking Child, broke the Neck of another of her Children, and the third hardly escaped. *Jurat.* Sept. 23. 1643.

(i) *Mr. Creighton* deposeth in his Examination, That sometimes the chief of the *Irish* would make heavy moan for the Evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and said, They saw utter Destruction at hand, for that they had covered so great a bitterness so long in their hearts against the *English*, and now so suddenly broke out against them, that had brought them up, kept them in their Houses like Children, and had made no difference between them, their *English* Friends and Kindred, by all which the *English* had so well deserved of them, and they had requited them so evil, that the *English* would never trust them hereafter, and now it remains that either they must destroy the *English*, or the *English* them. *Jurat.* ut supra.

(k) *Fran.*

1641. about them, all finding themselves without any manner of Hope or Deliverance from their present Misery and Pain! How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors, that compassed them on every side without all Bowels of Compassion, any sense of their Sufferings, or the least commiseration and pity, the common Comforters of Men in Misery!

It was no small addition to their Sorrows, to hear (k) the base reviling Speeches used against their Country and Country-men, some loudly threatening (l) all should be cut off, and utterly destroyed that had one drop of *English* Blood in them; the *Irish* Women crying out to spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child that was *English*; that the *English* was Meat for Dogs, and their Children, Bastards.

How grievous and insupportable must it needs be to a true Christian Soul, to hear a base (m) Villain boast, that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a Bog, that he could not lift

(k) *Fran. Barbour*, of *Dublin*, Gent. deposeth, That at the beginning of the Rebellion, he heard several of the Rebels publicly say, That now the day was their own, and that they had been Slaves to the *English* a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before *Christmas-Day*, an *English* Protestant Rogue living; with other like bitter words. *Jurat.* Jan. 5. 1643.

Jane, the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, deposeth, That the Rebels having half killed one *Ellen Millington*, and then put her into a dry hole made for a Well, and made her fast in with Stones, whereof she languished and died, the Rebels bragged how many of them went to see her kick and tosse in the hole, her Husband being formerly murdered by the Rebels. *Jurat. ut supra.*

(l) *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Thomas Green*, deposeth, That she heard the Rebels say, The *English* were Meat for Dogs; that there should not be one drop of *English* Blood left within the Kingdom, and that they would destroy all, the very *English* Children, whom they called Bastards. *Jurat.* Nov. 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook deposeth, That he heard *Luke Toole* say, That they would not leave an *English* Man or *English* Woman in the Kingdom; that they would not leave an *English* Beast alive, or any of the Breed of them. *Jurat.*

Samuel Man, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gent. deposeth, That he heard some of the *Irish* say, That there should not be one *English* Man, Woman, or Child left in the Kingdom. *Jurat.*

Elizabeth Dickenson deposeth, That she heard some of the Company of *Rory Mac-Gwire* say, That the *Irish* had command to leave never a drop of *English* Blood in *Ireland*. *Jurat.* Nov. 17. 1642.

Catherine Madeson, of the County of *Fermanagh*, deposeth, That she hath often heard the Rebels say, That they would drive all the *English* and *Scottish* out of the Kingdom, and that both Man, Woman, and Child should be cut off and destroyed. *Jurat.* Nov. 17. 1642.

(m) *Elenor Fullerton*, the Relict of *William Fullerton*, late Parson of *Loughall*, deposeth, That in Lent, 1641. a young roguing Cow-Boy, gave out and affirmed in this Deponent's hearing, That his hands were so weary in killing and knocking down Protestants into a Bog-Pit, that he could hardly lift his Arms to his head. *Jurat.* Sept. 16. 1642.

Owen Frankland deposeth, That he heard *Hugh O Case*, late Servant to *Mrs. Stanhaw*, calling to his Fellows in a boasting manner, asking them what they had been doing at home

lift his Arms up to his head? Or others to say, (n) that they had killed so many *English* Men, that the grease or fat which remained on their Swords or Skeins, might have made an *Irish* Candle; or to consider, that two (o) young Cow-Boys should have it in their power to murder thirty six Protestants. Whosoever shall seriously weigh these particulars, will not much wonder that so great numbers of *British* and Protestants, should be destroyed in so short a time after (p) the first breaking out of the Rebellion, as Mr. *Cunningham* deposeth in his Examination: He there saith, That the account of the Persons killed by the Rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, *October 23. 1641.* unto the Month of *April* following, was, as the Priests weekly gave it in, in their several Parishes, one hundred and five thousand. *Jurat. April 22. 1641.*

When the Castle of *Lisgoole* (q) was set on fire by the Rebels, and so many *British*, as are before-mentioned, consumed in the Flames, those mischievous Villains that had done that wicked Fact, cried out with much Joy, *How sweetly do they fry!* How did the Inhabitants (r) of *Kilkenny* (a City planted with old *English*, where Civility and good Manners

home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed sixteen of the Rogues, and shewed them some Money. *Jurat. Sept. 16. 1642.*

(n) *Elizabeth Champion*, late Wife of *Arthur Champion*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, Esquire, saith, That she heard the Rebels say, That they had killed so many *English* Men, that the Grease or Fat which remained upon their Swords and Skeins, might well serve to make an *Irish* Candle. *Jurat. April 14. 1642.*

(o) *John Birne*, late of *Donganon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, deposeth, That he heard some of the Native *Irish* that were somewhat more merciful than the rest; complain that two young Cow-Boys within the Parish of *Tullah*, had at several times murdered and drowned thirty six Women and Children. *Jurat. Jan. 12. 1643.*

(p) *James Shaw*, a Minister, deposeth, That after the Cessation made with the *Irish*, divers of them confessed, the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare Man, Woman, or Child, that were Protestants; and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the Blood of the Protestants which they had slain. *Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.*

(q) *Elizabeth Champion* deposeth, That when the Rebels had set the Castle of *Lisgoole* on fire upon the Protestants there enclosed, and saw the said House so burning, they said among themselves rejoicingly, *O how sweetly do they fry!* *Jurat. ut supra.*

(r) *William Lucas*, of the City of *Kilkenny*, deposeth, That although he lived in the Town till about five or six Weeks past, in which time he is assured divers Murders and cruel Acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them: But he doth confidently believe that the Rebels having brought seven Protestants heads, whereof one was the head of *Mr. Bingham*, a Minister, they did then and there, as Triumphs of their Victory, set them upon the Market-Cross on a Market-day, and that the Rebels slash'd, stabb'd, and mangled those Heads; put a Gag, or Carrot, in the said *Mr. Bingham's* Mouth, slit up his Cheeks to his Ears, laying a leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his Mouth was wide enough; and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those Heads in a hole in *St. James's Green*. *Jurat. Aug. 16. 1643.*

(J) Julian

1641. *w* hers seemed to flourish) solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a Minister and six other Protestants, brought in a kind of Triumph into that Town: Certainly it is not not to be imagined, much less expressed, with what Scorn and Derision they acted these great Cruelties upon all *British* which they had gotten into their power; with what Joy and Exultation their Eyes did behold the sad Spectacle of their Miseries; what (✓) greedy Delight and Pleasure they took in their bloody Executions; what (x) Malice and hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of death giving them in their last Agony (u) that fearful Valediction, in *Irish*, *Anim a duel*, Thy Soul to the Devil.

But

(✓) *Julian Johnson*, the Relict of *John Johnson*, of the County of *Galway*, deposes, That after the slaughter of some *English*, she heard one *O Moley*, a Fryar, say in a triumphing manner, *It was a brave sport to see the young Men* (meaning some of the *English* then slain) *defending themselves on every side, and their two Eyes burning in their heads.* And further, that she heard some of the cruel Soldiers then and there brag and boast of the brave sport they had, by putting fire to the Straw which a stripped *English* Woman had tied about her, saying, *How bravely the Fire then made the English Jade to dance!* Jurat. Feb. 8. 1643.

Joan Constable, the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, deposes, That the Out-cries, Lamentations, and Schrieches of the poor Protestants burned in a thatch'd House in the Parish of *Kilmare*, in the County of *Armagh*, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardened hearts of their Murderers, but they most boldly made Brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating those Cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the Children gaped when the fire began to burn them; and threatened and told her, this Deponent, that before it were long she and the rest of the Protestants should suffer the like deaths. And further saith, That the Rebels within the County of *Armagh*, did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous Cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, and her escape from Imprisonment out of the said County) by burning, drowning, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time betwixt *Timon* and *Kinnard*, sixty *British* Women and Children, their respective Husbands and Fathers, and all their Male Friends that were Men, being murdered before: And that they did in the same Water, at another time, drown one *Mrs. Maxwell*, the Wife of *Mr. James Maxwell*, when she was in Labour, and so forward therein, as some of those bloody Actors told and bragg'd to her, this Deponent, that the very Child's Arm appeared, and waved in the Water, the Child being half born when the Mother was drowned. Jurat. *ut supra*.

(x) *Henry Brinkhurst*, of the County of *Maye*, deposes, That after the Massacre of *Shrewl*, one of the Rebels that had acted his part there, came into a House with his hands and clothes all bloody, saying, *It was English Blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skin had pinked the clean white Skins of many at Shrewl, even to the hilt thereof; and that amongst others, it had been in the Body of a fair complexion'd Man, whose name was Jones.* At which time of his discourse, the Wife of the said *Jones*, with four of her small Children, sat by, and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extreme Grief, fell into a Swoon, and was convey'd out of the Room, for fear he should have done the like by her and her poor Children. *Henry Brinkhurst*, Jurat. March 11. 1643.

(u) This Particular deposed in the Examination of *Dr. Maxwell* and *Mrs. Price*.

(v) *Margaret*

But it was no wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous manner to their poor innocent Christians, when they spared not most fearfully to belch out their Rage against their Maker. What open (v) hellish Blaphemies were uttered by these wicked Miscreants? (w) With what Indignation and Reproach did they tear, trample under their foot, the sacred Word of GOD! How despitely did they upbraid the Profession of the Truth to those blessed Souls, whom neither by Threats nor Terrors, Pains nor Torments, they could draw to forsake their Religion?

But

(v) *Margaret Stokes*, the Wife of *Hugh Stokes*, duly sworn and examined, deposeth, *inter alia*, that when the Rebels, or any of them, had killed an English Man in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in most cruel manner stab, wound and cut him, and almost mangle him; and to shew their further Malice, would not suffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the Dogs, Beasts, and Fowls of the Air to devour them. And further saith, when they had so killed the English, they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in a rejoicing and boasting manner would say, *That they had made the Devil behold to them, in sending so many Souls to him to Hell.* Jurat. coram Sir Gerrard Lowther.

Edward Dunn, of *Ocrum*, in the County of *Wicklow*, Tanner, deposeth, That the Irish Rebels made Proclamation, *That all English Men and Women that did not depart the Country within twenty four hours should be hanged, drawn and quartered; and that the Irish Houses that kept any of the English Children, should be burned.* And further saith, that the said Rebels burned two Protestant Bibles, and then said, *That it was Hell-Fire that burnt.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

(w) *John Kerdis*, Clerk of the County of *Tyrone*, deposeth, *inter alia*, That Fryar *Malone*, of *Skerries*, did take the poor Mens Bibles which he found in the Boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire with these words, *That he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles.* Jurat. Feb. 28. 1641.

Henry Fisher, of *Powercourt*, in the County of *Wicklow*, deposeth, That the Rebels entered the Parish-Church at *Powercourt*, and burnt up the Pews, Pulpit, Chests and Bibles belonging to the said Church, with extrem Violence and Triumph, and expressing of hatred to Religion. Jurat. Jan. 25. 1641.

Adam Clover, of *Slonoffy*, in the County of *Cavan*, duly sworn, deposeth, That *James O Rely*, *Hugh Brady*, and other Rebels, did often take into their hands the Protestant Bibles, and wetting them in the dirty Water, did five or six times dash the same on the face of this Deponent, and other Protestants, saying, *Come, I know you love a good Lesson, here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you shall have as good a Sermon as this;* and used other scornful and disgraceful words unto them: And further saith, that dragging divers Protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the Church, there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, *If you come to morrow, you shall hear the like Sermon.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

Edward Slack, of *Gusteen*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of Water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, *A plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the Quarrel;* and that he hoped within few Weeks all the Bibles in *Ireland* should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the Kingdom. Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

1641. But I shall not here touch any farther upon those who died thus gloriously, this will be a worthy Work for some more able Pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a Survey of the Primitive Times, and look into the Sufferings of the first Christians that suffered under the Tyranny and cruel Persecutions of those Heathenish Emperors, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger Continent, where there were more Christians suffered, or more Unparallel'd Cruelties were acted in many years upon them, than were in *Ireland*, within the space of the first two Months after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And howsoever (*) some by outward Infiictions and Tortures were drawn to profess the change of their Religion, and had presently their reward: For many of those they suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, It was fit to send them out of the World in that good mood; (y) yet I dare say we shall find many thus cruelly put to Death, equal to some of those ancient Worthies for their Patience, Constancy, Courage, Magnanimity in their Sufferings, not accepting Deliverance, but triumphing and insulting with their last Breath, over the Insolency, Rage and Malice of their most inhumane and cruel Persecutors.

We shall find in the *Roman* Story, during the several cruel Contestations betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, when their factious Followers filled the

(*) *Alexander Creighton* of *Glaslough* in the County of *Monaghan*, Gent. deposeth, That he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels aforesaid at *Glaslough*, that *Hugh Mac O Degan*, a Priest, had done a most meritorious Act in drawing betwixt forty and fifty *English* and *Scottish* in the Parish of *Ganally*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, to reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*, and after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them whether Christ's Body was really in the Sacrament or no? And they said, Yea, And that he demanded further, Whether they held the Pope to be supream head of the Church? They likewise answered, He was: And that thereupon he presently told them, they were in good Faith, and for fear they should fall from it, and turn Hereticks, he and the rest that were with him cut all their Throats. *Jurat.* March 1. 1641.

(y) *John Glas* of *Montrath* in the *Queen's-County*, sworn and examined, saith, That *Florence Fitz-Patrick* of the said County, Esq; having received Mr. *John Nicholson* and his Wife *Ann Nicholson*, under his Protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass, or the present Rebellion; but they both professed, that rather than they would either forsake their Religion, or fight against their Countrymen, they would die the Death, the Husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his Wife even shewing greater Resolution: They would have had her burn her Bible; but her answer was, Before she would either burn her Bible, or turn against her Countrymen, she would die upon the point of the Sword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath-day in the morning before Mass, they were cruelly Butchered and Murdered by the command of the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick*: The Instrument that acted the Villany, was one *John Harding*, who since hath been beyond all expression tormented in his conscience, and with continued Apparitions of them (as he conceived) in such manner as he murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the Rebels. *Jurat.* April 8. 1642.

whole City of *Rome* with Streams of Blood; strange and most incomparable Passages of Friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of Dangers for the preservation of his Friend of a contrary Faction; Servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the Lives of their beloved Masters. But here on the contrary, what open Violation of all Bands of Humanity and Friendship? No Contracts, no Promises observed; Quarter given in the most solemn manner, with the greatest Oaths and severest Execrations, under Hand and Seal, suddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a Prey of their *English* Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters; and every one esteeming any Act wherein they could declare their Hatred and Malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as gallant, and truly Meritorious.

1641.
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It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody Executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*, and there they continued longest to execute their Rage and Cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent to destroy and pluck up by the Roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them; Men, Women; and Children, but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their Evidences, defaced in many Places all the Monuments of Civility and Devotion, the Courts and Places of the *English* Government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either Name or Posterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this Work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a Task of a large size, and more proper for another place in this Story.

I shall here conclude this Discourse concerning the Cruelties exercised upon the *British* and Protestants, with these following Examinations. They are Eight in number, two Witnesses, as it were, taken out of each Province to declare their bloody Proceedings: I shall begin with *Munster*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their Miseries, to insert their General Remonstrance, made upon the Conclusion of the late Cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the Province of *Conaught*; then those of the Province of *Ulster*; and lastly, two Examinations taken of some Acts of Cruelty committed within the Province of *Leinster*. I have made choice, for the most part of them, of such as have been put in by Persons of good Quality, of known Integrity and Credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning Cruelties before-mentioned likewise are. I shall leave the several

1641. veral particulars to the Consideration of such as shall please to take the Pains to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect of the former Cruelties inserted, as was said to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another Case, *Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations than these.*

Ezek. 11.
12.

A General REMONSTRANCE of the Distressed PROTESTANTS in the Province of Munster.

Here follow several Examinations taken upon Oath, of several horrid murders, and most abominable cruelties acted within the four Provinces.

Setting forth, from the gasping Condition of their most sad and distressed Souls, That whereas the Province of Munster, through the vast Expence of English Treasure and Blood, was reduced from the height of Barbarism to such a degree of Civility, that the Power and Dignity of the English Crown, was much advanced and extended by the surest and noblest Bonds of a Flourishing People; those of Religion, Civility and Profit: Of Religion, witnessed, by the enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches: Civility, by the many costly Plantations, fair and strong Buildings, plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hospitality: And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout Christendom. Lands fully Improved, abounding with Herds and Flocks of all sorts of the best English Cattel, which enabled us to advance great Sums to his Majesty's Customs, contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of England with such a considerable proportion of Wool and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great change of the English Undertakers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous Memory, since when few parts of Christendom from their beginning (in so short space) had such a Rise and Growth, which was not alone to our selves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondered at, that when we consider from what we are fallen, to what we are fallen; if the pain of Loss, strive to equal that of Sense; and if the depth of our Miseries have not sunk our Souls to stupidity, we may compare our Woes to the saddest Parallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, profaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Houses and Castles besome ruinous heaps, our Nation extirpated, destroyed: No Quality, Age, Sex, privileged from Massacres and lingering Death; by being robbed and stripped naked, through Cold or Famine, Passages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of murdered Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our Faces; and many of our yet miserable Remnant, which lived plentifully

plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of, 1641. constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of Samaria's Siege; and all these cast upon us by this unparalleled Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Rounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, and could not endure their Poysonous Breaths to belch out such Prophecies, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred Person of our King; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first PENITENTS and later of ROUND-HEADS; for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, That the Depopulations in this Province of Munster, do well near equal those of the whole Kingdom. The particulars whereof, as of the multitude of inhuman Cruelties, were Collected and Reduced to several Instances, with ample Proof, by the many Months endeavours of a reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon Bils, thence-
 was authorized by virtue of a Commission under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the Demeanours of the Irish since the Cassation, as well as before; many English have been murdered as they Travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the English. That if any remain (which few do) yet surely will do, that can but breathe as follows; then must they be in a degree worse than any known Slavery: And likewise for other parts of the Cassation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, universally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Garrisons; wherein we have often call'd to the chief of them for Justice; which being denied (on which is worse) delayed, want of means to justify ourselves, leaves us without remedy. All which we pour forth our Griefs and Supplications, above, to GOD alone; and here on Earth, to our Dread Sovereign.

The

The Examination of *Anne*, the late Wife of *John Sherring*, late of the Territory of *Ormonde*, near the Silver-Works, in the County of *Tipperary*, aged about twenty five Years, sworn and examined, deposeth and saith,

1641. **T**HAT about *Candlemas* was two Years, the said *John Sherring*, her then Husband, going from his Farm, which he held from Mr. *John Kenedy*, Esq; near to the Silver-Works, one *Hugh Kenedy*, one of the Brothers of the said *John Kenedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great multitude of *Irish* rebellious Soldiers, then and there fiercely assailed and set upon her Husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Collop*, and eight more *English* Protestant Men, and about ten Women, and upon some Children in their company, and then and there strip'd them of their Clothes, and then with Stones, Pole-axes, Sticks, Swords, Pikes, Darts, and other Weapons, most barbarously massacred and murdered her Husband, and all those Protestant Men, Women, and Children: In the time of which Massacre, a most loud and fearful Noise and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-stones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before Night, the former part of the day being all very fair, but that Thunder, Lightning, and Tempest, happening suddenly after the Massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others, insomuch as those Murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's Anger and threatening of them for such their then Cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they persisted in their bloody Act, until they had murdered those said *English* Protestants, and had hack'd, hew'd, slash'd, stabb'd, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her Husband, for his part, had thirty grievous Wounds then and there given him, (*viz.*) some through or near his Heart, ten mortal Wounds in his Head, three in his Belly, and in either Arm four, and the rest in his Thighs, Legs, Back and Neck: And that Murder done, those barbarous Rebels tied Wyths about their Necks, and drew them out of the Refining-Mill (where indeed they slew them) and threw them, or most of them, into a deep hole (formerly made) one upon another, so that none of those twenty three Men, Women, nor Children, did escape death. Howbeit, one *Tho. Ladell*, a *Scottish* Man, and one *George Kelsey*, who then and there endured, and had many grievous Wounds, and being left on the ground for dead, crawled up, (after the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty escaped with their Lives: And further saith, that

that such was God's Judgment upon the said *Hugh Kenedy*, for that bloody Fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate Madneſs and Diſtraction, and could not reſt Day nor Night; yet coveting to do more Miſchief upon the *Engliſh*, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a Week after drowned himſelf in the next River to the Silver-Works, but his barbarous and wicked Soldiers went on in their Wick- edneſs, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Miniſter and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limerick*; and this Deponent is too well aſſured, that thoſe and other *Iriſh* Rebels in that part of the Country, exerciſed and committed a great number of bloody Murders, Robberies, and Outrages upon the Perſons and Goods of the Proteſtants, ſo as very few eſcaped with their Lives, and none at all ſaved their Goods. And further ſaith, that all the Popiſh Gentry in the Country thereabouts, eſpecially all thoſe of the *Septs*, and Names of the *O Brians*, and the *Coghlans*, the *Kenedies*, were all Actors in the preſent Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; and either acted, aſſiſted, incited or conſented to all the Murders, Robberies, Cruelties, and rebellious Acts aforeſaid. And ſhe further ſaith, that by means of the ſaid Rebellion, her ſaid Husband and ſhe were at *Warrinwood* about *Candlemas*, 1641. fobbed and deprived of their Cattle, Houſhold-ſtuff, Corn, Mault, Proviſion, ready Money, Debts, the Benefit of their Leaſe, and other their Goods and Chattles, of the Value, and to their Loſs, of one hundred and threſcore Pounds at the leaſt; and that the ſaid *John Kenedy*, Eſq; their Landlord, was the Man that ſo deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other Rebels ſtrip'd her ſtark naked. *Jurat.* Feb. 10. 1643.

Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.

Anne Sherring.

The Examination of *John Goldſmith*, Parſon of *Brashoul*, in the County of *Mayo*, Sworn and Examined, ſaith,

THAT the Lord of *Mayo* being to convoy all thoſe of *Caſtle-Burre* to *Galkway*; viz. Sir *Henry Bingham* with all his Company, and the Biſhop of *Killalla*, with all his Company, with many of the neighbour- ing *Engliſh*, being about threſcore in number, whereof there were ſome fifteen Miniſters, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the ſafe Convoy of the ſame Parties upon a certain day; and the ſaid Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belcharagh*; having firſt ſeparated this De-
The Pro- vince of Conaughts.

1641. ponent from them to attend his Lady in the Work of the Ministry. At which day, the titular Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole Number went on their Journey to *Sbreul*; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the Custody of the said last named *Edmund Bourk*: But as one Mr. *Bringhurst* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his Sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those Protestants; and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabb'd with Skeins, some run through with Pikes, some cast into the Water and drowned, and the Women that were stripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with Pikes; and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdered in the place: Amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Killalla* escaped with his Life, but was then and there wounded in his head; and one Mr. *Crowd*, a Minister, was then and there so beaten with Cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this Deponent further saith, that in the Town of *Sligo*, forty Persons of *English* and *Scottish*, were by the Rebels strip'd and lock'd up in a Cellar; and about Midnight a Butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Axe knocked them on the head, and so then and there murdered them: Which Butcher coming afterwards to *Castle-Burre*, did there confess his bloody Fact.

In *Tirawly*, within the County of ----- about thirty or forty *English* (formerly turned Papists) had their choice given them, whether they would die by the Sword, or drown themselves: They making choice of drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their Skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their Arms (crying for Drink) having waded to the Chin, at length cast or dived themselves and Children into the Sea, yielding themselves to the Mastery of the Waves, and so perished.

The Torments the Rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their Monies, were these, viz. some they would take and writh Wryths about their heads, till the Blood sprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down; and do the same so often over, until they confessed their Monies.

And this Deponent further saith, that a young Youth of about fifteen Years of Age, the Son of Mr. *Montgomery*, the Minister, meeting with a bloody Rebel who had been his Schoolmaster; this Rebel drew his Skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, *Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will*: Nevertheless the then merciless and cruel Rebel there most barbarously murdered him.

A *Scotch* Man travelling in the High-way, with his Wife and Children, near ----- were beset by the Rebels, who wounded and stabb'd him with their Pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive, as the poor Wife afterwards (with great Grief) told him, this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papist, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was afterwards murdered for his pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotch* Man, near *Ballehen*, was hanged by the Rebels.

Jurat. 30 Decembris, 1643.

John Goldsmith.

*Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.*

The Examination of *Jane*, the Wife of *Thomas Stewart*, late of the Town and County of *Sligo*, Merchant; Sworn and Examined before His Majesty's Commissioners in that behalf Authorized: Deposeth and saith,

THAT after the present Rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of *December, 1641.* her said Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforesaid, with her, this Deponent, as for twenty six Years he had done in very good Estate and Condition; and having continually furnished the Inhabitants of that Part thereof with all sorts of Wares and Merchandise; and by that course having acquired and gained to himself an Estate of good value: He, the said *Thomas Stewart*, and she, this Deponent, then possessing that Estate, were then at *Sligo* aforesaid, by *Andrew Crean*, of *Sligo*, Esq; then High-Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart*, of *Donnelly*, in the said County, Gentleman; *Roger O Conner*, of *Skardan*, in the same County, Gentleman; *Donnel O Conner*, of -----, Gentleman, Brother-in-Law to *Teige O Conner Sligo*; *Richard O Crean*, of *Tirreragh*, Gentleman; *John O Crean*, Esq; and a Justice of Peace, Son to the said *Andrew Crean*; *Anthony Screan*, of -----, near *Ballyshany*, Gentleman, forcibly deprived, robbed and despoiled of their Household-Goods, Wares, Merchandise, Specialties, Cattle, Horses, Plate, Money, and other Goods and Cattles, of the value of one thousand two hundred Pounds Sterling, or thereabouts: Which Robbery and Outrage

The Province of Connaught.

1641. was committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very time of the Rebels surprizing, robbing and pillaging of all the *English* and *Scotch* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof, not only the Persons, Rebels before-named, but also *Teige O Conner Sligo*, now of the Castle of *Sligo*, General of the Rebels in those Parts, *James French*, of *Sligo*, aforesaid, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace (a notorious and cruel Rebel) *Brian O Conner*, of *Drumcleer*, Gentleman; Captain *Charles O Conner*, a Fryar, and Captain *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and Brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*; Captain *Patrick Plunket*, near *Killoony*, in the same County, a Justice of the Peace; Captain *Phelim O Conner*; Captain *Teige O Conner*, of the *Glan*; Captain *Con O Conner*, of the same; and divers others, whose Names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel Actors: And those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she, this Deponent, and her Husband, and many other *British*, were left in that Town; and among the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, viz. *William Braxton*, the Deponent and her Husband and six Children; *James Sept*, and his Son, of the Age of four or five Years, *Sampson Port* and his Wife, *Mary Port* and her Father (of the Age of seventy Years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle*, and his Wife and Children, *William Carter*, and *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow*, and one Woman that was great with Child, and within a Month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with Child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot name; which *British* People (altho' they were promised fair Quarter, and taken into the Protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a Collection) yet they were daily threatned to be murdered, if they would not turn Papists in one Month the then next after; which, for saving of their Lives, they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo* (having before called a Meeting of his Followers and Kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* and *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Coyent of Fryars of the Abby of *Sligo* for three days together, where they sat in Council) all the Men, Women, and Children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the Goal, and as many as could be met withal, were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where about twelve a Clock in the Night they were stripped stark naked, and after most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdered with Swords, Axes, and Sheins, and particularly by two Butchers, named *James Butts* and *Robert Butts* of

of *Sligo*, who murdered many of them; wherein also were *Astors*, 1641. *Charles O Conner*, the Fryar, and *Hugh O Conner*, aforementioned, Brother to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart*, Labourer, *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, the one the Jaylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom she cannot name: And saith, that above thirty of the *British* which were so put into the Goal, were then and there murdered; besides *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newsham* and *Edward Mercer*, who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest, and *Jo. Stewart*, this Deponent's Son, which four being the next day found alive, yet all besmeared with Blood, were spared to live. All which particulars the Deponent was credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her *Irish* Servants, and others of the Town; and saith, that some of the Women so murdered being big with Child (by their Wounds received) the very Arms and Legs of the Children in their Wombs appeared, and were thrust out; and one Woman, viz. *Isabel Beard*, being in the House of the Fryars, and hearing the lamentable Cry that was made, ran into the Street, and was pursued by one of the Fryar's Men unto the River, where she was barbarously murdered, and found the next day with the Child's feet appearing, and thrust out of her Wounds in her sides. And further saith, that on the said sixth day of *January* there were murdered in the Streets of the Town of *Sligo*, these *British* Protestants following, viz. *William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles*, his Son, *William Mapwel* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further saith, (as she was credibly informed by the Persons before-named) that the inhuman Rebels, after their Murders committed in the said Goal, laid and placed some of the dead Bodies of the naked murdered Men upon the naked Bodies of the Women, in a most immodest Posture, not fit for chaste Ears to hear: In which Posture they continued to be seen the next Morning by those *Irish* of the Town that came into the said Goal, who were delighted and rejoyced in those bloody Murders and uncivil Actions: And that they of the *Irish* that came to bury them, stood up to the mid-leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so murdered, who were carried out, and cast into a Pit digged for that purpose in the Garden of *Mr. Ricraft's*, Minister of *Sligo*. And she further saith, that whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fish, it did not for a long time after those Murders, afford any Fish at all: And this Deponent saw the Fryars in their white Habits, in great Companies in Procession, going to sanctify the Water, casting thereinto Holy Water: She saith also, that the Prior of the Covent of *Sligo*, after the Murder of the said Women in the River, fell frantick, and ran so about the Streets, and continued in that Frenzy for three or four Weeks; and

1641. and saith, that of her six Children, three were starved and died, after her release out of Imprisonment, which had been for eighteen Months amongst the Rebels.

Jurat. 23 Aprilis, 1644.

Signum predict. VVV.

*Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton.*

Jane Stewart, alias Menize.

Captain *Anthony Stratford*, of *Charlemount*, in the County of *Armagh*, Esq; aged threescore Years, or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined before His Majesty's Commissioners, by vertue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, deposeth and saith,

Province
of *Ulster*.

THAT these Protestant Ministers following, about the beginning of the present Rebellion, were murdered in the Counties of *Tyrone* and *Armagh*, viz. Mr. *John Matthew*, Mr. *Blyth*, Mr. *Hastings*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Durragh*, Mr. *Birge*, and eight more, whose Names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the Rebels permit to be buried; the Names of such as murdered, this Examinant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said Murders is, that some of his, this Deponent's Servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him the Relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this Deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of those Protestants that had escaped; and that he, this Deponent, was a Prisoner among the Rebels at *Castle-Caufield*, near the place of those Murders, where he continued fourteen Months. And further saith, that in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdered three hundred and sixteen Protestants; and between *Charlemount* and *Dungannon*, above four hundred; that there were murdered and drowned at and in the River by *Benburb*, the *Black-Water*, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, two hundred and six Protestants; and *Patrick Mac-Crew* of *Dungannon* aforesaid, murdered thirty one in one Morning; and two young Rebels, viz. *John Begbrian* and *Hary*, murdered in the said County of *Tyrone*, one hundred and forty poor Women and Children that could make no resistance; and that the Wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghal* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own hands murder forty five. And this Deponent further saith, that one *Thomas King*

King, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Causfield's* Company (which 1641. this Deponent commanded) he being enforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of the Provost-Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every Housholder's name so murdered, and the number of the Persons so murdered; which List this Deponent durst not keep: At *Portadowne* there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about forty, or such like Numbers at once, with Convoys, and there drowned: There was a *Lough* near *Loghgall* aforesaid, where were drowned above two hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by several Persons, and particularly by the Wife of Dr. *Hodges*, and two of her Sons, who were present and designed for the like end, but by God's Mercy that gave them favour in the Eyes of some of the Rebels, they escaped; and the said Mrs. *Hodges* and her Sons gave the Deponent a List of the Names of many of those that were so drowned, which the Deponent durst not keep; and saith, that the said Dr. *Hodges* was employed by Sir *Phelim O Neil* to make Powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was first half-hanged, then cut down, and kept Prisoner three Months, and then murdered with forty four more within a quarter of a Mile of *Charlemount* aforesaid (they being by *Tirlogh O Neil*, brother to Sir *Phelim*, sent to *Dungannon* Prisoners, and in the way murdered.) This Deponent was shewed the Pit where they were all cast in.

At a Mill-Pond in the Parish of *Killamen* in the County of *Tyrone*, there were drowned in one Day 300; and in the same Parish there were murdered of *English* and *Scottish* 1200, as this Deponent was informed by Mr. *Birge*, the late Minister of the said Parish, who certified the same under his hand, which Note the Deponent durst not keep: The said Mr. *Birge* was murdered three Months after: All which murders were in the first breaking out of the Rebellion, but the particular times this Deponents cannot remember, neither the Persons by whom they were committed. This Deponent was credibly informed by the said Serjeant, and others of this Deponent's Servants (who kept company with the Rebels, and saw the same) that many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scottish* Infants were hanged on a Clothier's Tenterhook, and that they murdered a young fat *Scottish* Man, and made Candles of his Grease; they took another *Scottish* Man and ripped up his Belly, that they might come to his small Guts, the one end wherof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his Body; they then saying, That they would try whether a Dog's or a *Scotch* Man's Guts were the longer.

Deposed March 9. 1643. before us,

Anthony Stratford.

Henry Jones.

Henry Brereton.

The

The Examination of *Robert Maxwell*, Clerk, Arch-Deacon of Down, Sworn and Examined, deposeth and saith, *inter alia*.

1641.
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THAT by command from Sir *Pbelim O Neil*, the Rebels dragged the Deponent's Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his Bed; in the rage and height of a burning Fever; and lest any of his Acquaintance or Friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said; and thus Sir *Pbelim* paid him two hundred and sixty Pound which he owed him: And his Wife *Griffel Maxwell* being in Child-birth, the Child half born and half unborn, they stript strak naked, drove her about an Arrows flight to the *Black-water*, and drowned her: The like they did to another *English* Woman in the same Parish, in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than the roasting of Mr. *Watson* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And farther saith, That a *Scottish* Woman was found in the *Glinwood* lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb cut out of the Cawl; and that Mr. *Starkey*, School-Master at *Armagh*, he a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred Years of Age, they stripped naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise naked, to support him under each Arm, he being not able to go of himself; and in that posture carried them all three a quarter of a Mile, to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their Eyes and the cruelty of their Hearts with the self-same Objects at the same time. At the Siege of *Aughier*, they would not kill any *English-Beast*, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more flesh upon their Backs, so that sometimes a Beast would live two or three Days together in that Torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdered *Hugh Ecklin* Esq; they hanged and murder'd all his *Irish* Servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this Rebellion. And as touching exemplary Constancy in Religion, this Deponent saith, That *Henry Cowel*, Esq; a gallant and well bred Gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a beastly Trull, *Mary Ny Neil*, a near Kinswoman of Sir *Pbelim's*: He was proffered his Life without the *Blouse*, if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of Life for going to Mass, to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of eleven or twelve Years of Age, but he also refused it, saying, *He saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own*. And this Deponent further saith, That very many of the *British* Protestants the Rebels buried alive, and took

took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any that survived to perform that duty for them: And further saith, That the Rebels would send their Children abroad in great Troops, especially near unto *Kinnard*, armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat dead Men's Bodies about their privy Members, until they beat, or rather thrashed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service as it were in Triumph. And further saith, That if any Women were found dead lying with their Faces downward, they would turn them upon their Backs, and in great flocks resort unto them, censuring all parts of their Bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half dead, would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or Three Days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied.

A young Youth having his Back-bone broken, was found in a Field, having like a Beast eaten all the Grass round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better Pasture, so that in those most bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the Holy Ghost is verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty*: And further saith, That the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they murdered nine hundred fifty four in one morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above eleven or twelve hundred more, in that County: They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* kill'd about a thousand in the County of *Down*, besides three hundred kill'd near *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelim's* return from *Lisnegarvy*, some of the Soldiers forced about twenty four *British* into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible Out-cries they desired very much to imitate and express unto others; and saith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed six hundred *English* at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong* in the County of *Tyrone*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Neurvy*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Atcheson*, *John Hamilton Esq*; the Lord *Caulfield*, and the Lord *Mount Norris*: And saith also, That there were above 2000 of the *British* murdered for the most part in their own Houses, whereof he was inform'd by a *Scots-man*, who was in those Parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their Houses filled with their dead

1641. Bodies. In the *Glinwood* towards *Dromore*, there were slaughter'd, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were all killed in their flight to the County of *Down*: The number of the People drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diversly reported according as Men staid amongst the Rebels; this Deponent who staid as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the *English* amongst them, and had best reason to know the truth, saith, There were (by their own report) one hundred and ninety drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*: At another time they threw one hundred and forty over the said Bridge; at another time thirty six, or thirty seven, and so continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight Weeks, so as the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above one thousand, besides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lough* of *Monjoy*, besides those who perished by the Sword, fire and famine, in *Coubraff*, and the *English* Plantations adjacent: Which in regard there escaped not three hundred out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

The numbers of *British* destroyed within the province of *Ulster*.

Near unto the Deponent's House thirty six Persons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one time, and drowned. At another time six and fifty, Men, Women, and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponent's House; and at several other times several other numbers; besides those that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Timon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was drowned, slaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about six hundred. The Deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongst the Rebels being burned, with his House, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been murder'd in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thousand now wanting of the *British* within the very precinct of *Ulster*.

And this Deponent further saith, That it was common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghost of Mr. *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown-bridge*, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the Rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the same River, and being daily affrighted with those Apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion enforced to remove further into the Country: Their own Priests and Priors could

could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent 1641. ~
 Objected unto them; they said it was but a cunning slight of the Devil to hinder this great Work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself lived within thirteen Miles of the Bridge, and never heard any Man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no Man's Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own Eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter.

And this Deponent further saith, That the degenerate *Pale-English*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands; and were never satisfied with their Blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting Sir *Phelim O Neil* every Day with their Numbers, and perswading him, That whilst they (meaning the Protestants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor safety for him. It was easie to spur on the cowardly and bloody Rebel; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer *Irish* took present possession, of their Lands and Houses; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled; and said, Sir *Phelim* had not kept promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, That he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen Years of Age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one Night, fifteen able strong Men with his Skein, they being disarmed and most of their Feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve Years of Age, killed two Women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a Woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed seven Men and Women, of her fellow *English* Tenants, in one Morning. And it was very usual in all parts, for the Rebels Children to murder the Protestants Children; and sometimes with Lath-Swords, heavy, and well sharpened, they would venture upon People of riper Years, cruckies not to be believed, if there were not so many Eye-witnesses of them.

Deposeth 22. of August, 1642.

Henry Brereton.

William Aldrich.

The Examination of Dame *Anne Butler*, Wife unto Sir *Thomas Butler* of *Rathealin*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Knight; duly Sworn, deposeth,

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THAT after *Walter Bagnal*, of *Dunlickny*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, Esq; and *Walter Butler*, with a great number of Men, had in a violent manner entered this Deponent's House, they not able to resist, they set strict guard over this Deponent, her Husband and Family, and brought them from their settled Dwelling unto *Logblin-Bridge*, where they kept her self, her Husband, and Children in restraint for two Weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a strict Guard to *Kilkenny*; and there they were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, Brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, did use all means possible to move the said Lord to put this Deponent, her Husband and Family, to death and torture; alledging, that they were rank Puritan Protestants; and desperately provoking, used these words, saying, *There's but one way, we or they*, meaning Papists and Protestants, *must perish*. To which malicious Provocation the said Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further deposeth, That *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious Company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an *English* Protestant, and his Servant, with his Wife and four Children, and one *Richard Taylor*, of *Logblin-Bridge*, his Wife and Children, *Samuel Hatter* of the same, his Wife and Children, an *English* Woman called *Jone*, and her Daughter, and was credibly informed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had been several times an Eye-witness of these lamentable Spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty *English* going to Execution; and that she had seen them when they were executed, their Bodies exposed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded so much as Burial. Another *English* Woman, who was newly delivered of two Children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her Child-bed, and took the Infant that was left alive, and dashed his Brains against the Stones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: And having a piece of Salmon to dinner, Mr. *Brian Cavanagh's* Wife being with her, she, the said Mrs. *Cavanagh*, refused to eat any part of the Salmon; and being demanded the reason, she said she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, because she had seen several Infants Bodies, and other Carcasses of the *English* taken up in the Wear.

And this Deponent saith, That Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Fimybinch*, had hanged and put to death all the *English* that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further deposeth,

deposeth, That she being in *Kilkenny* a Prisoner in restraint, and having intelligence that some of her own Cattle were brought thither by *Walter Bagnal*, she petitioned (being in great Extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her some of her own Cattle for her Relief; whereupon he recommended her Suit to the Mayor and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, because she and her Family were Protestants, and would not turn to Mass, they should have no Relief. *Jane Jones*, Servant to the Deponent, did see the *English* formerly specified, going to their Execution; and as she conceived they were about the number of 35; and was told by *Elizabeth Homes*, that there were 40 gone to Execution.

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Jurat. 7 Septem. 1642.

Anne Butler.

John Watson.

The Examination of *Joseph Wheeler* of *Stancarty* in the County of *Kilkenny*, Esq; *Elizabeth* the Relict of Lieutenant *William Gilbert*, of Captain *Ridgway's* Company; *Rebecca Hill*, the Relict of *Thomas Hill*, late Lieutenant to the said Captain *Ridgway*; *Thomas Lewis*, late of *Kilkenny*, Gent. *Jonas Wheeler* of *Stancarty* aforesaid, Gent. and *Patrick Maxwell* of the Graige in the same County, Gent. Sworn and Examined, Depose and Say,

THAT about *Easter* 1642, one *Ricard Phillips* and five others, who were old *Garrison* Soldiers, then under the Command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain of his Majesty's party, were, by the Command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the End of a House in *Kilkenny*, hanged to Death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provost-Marshal, *Thomas Cantwell* of *Cantwell-Court*, Esq; or some of his Servants or Soldiers in his presence, who would hardly suffer them to say their Prayers after they were taken out of the Prison before they were put to death; those poor Men dying very patiently and resolutely, in the maintenance of the Protestant Faith; but one of them, because he was an *Irish* man, was offered his Life if he would turn Papist, but he chose rather death, which he quickly had with the other five. And further saith, that a little before *Christmas* 1644. Mr. *William Hill* of the *Abbey* of *Clonmacnoise* in the County of *Queens*, Esq; and the said Lieutenant *Thomas Hill* his Son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary*

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1641. *Mary Hill*, the Wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Deponents were then and there sent for by the Lord Mount Garret, and by him committed prisoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark Dungeon bolted for rivo Months, but were offered freedom if they would join with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused: and after the said Lord Mount Garret was gone into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there to rise into Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz-Patrick* of *Castletowne* in the *Queens County* Esq; a Captain of the Rebels, and his Soldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without resistance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable durance for some time, and then hanged them both; and a poor young Girl being sent from the Town of *Ballinekill* to see what was become of them, and the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then let down, and after to be buried quick: And by report of one *Jone Grace* (that said she was an Eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead body of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their Heads and Legs lay bare, until she came and cover'd them with Earth, about a week after: And further saith, that they have credibly heard and believed, That the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz-Patrick's* House, to bring thither his Goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely re-delivered; he, the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick*, possessing those Goods, afterwards caused the said Merchant and his Wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz-Patrick* also hanged Lieutenant *Knis* and his Son, one *Hughes* a School-master, and divers other Protestants: And these Deponents further say, that Mr. *Edmond Butler*, eldest Son to the Lord Mount Garret, *Edward Butler* his second Son, Captain *Garret Blankfield*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and Soldiers, to the number of 6 or 700 Horse and Foot a little before *Michaelmas* 1642, marched from *Ballinagget* near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekill*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforesaid Ensign, *William Alfry* the younger, Mr. *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about sixty more of the *English Soldiers*, both the same parties joyned in Battle, but the *English Soldiers*, though fighting valiantly, and killing many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler* a Captain, among the rest) were at the last so overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said Lieutenant *Gilbert*, *William Alfry*, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and two other *English Soldiers* were absolutely slain, and the Heads of those seven carried to *Kilkenny* by those Rebels (their pipes for

for joy playing before them on horse-back) and on a market-day which happened to be on the next day following, those heads as triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and set upon the Market-cross, where the Rebels, but especially the Women there, and amongst the rest *Elice Butler*, a reputed Mother of several bastards, yet the daughter of the said *Mount Garret*, stab'd, cut and slacht those heads (the said *Elice Butler* drawing her Skein, slacht at the face of the said *William Alfry*, and hit him on the nose, and those that could but get a blow or stab at those heads, seemed to account themselves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the said *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him, bade him preach, saying his mouth was open and wide enough, and one of those leud Virago's that had no weapons, struck one of the heads so with her hand, that the same night her hand grew black and blew, rankled, and she was extremely lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameness and the swelling thereof growing to an Issue, is like to continue till she die: and another of those Women that with great rejoycing went and saw those heads, did quickly after the sight thereof fall into such an astonishment and distraction, that for three or four days after she could not sleep nor rest, but cried out that still she saw those heads before her eyes, which heads being said by the Rebels to be the heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Christian Burial, but buried without the City in a cross high-way altogether in a hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their Spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their Burial, and the heads themselves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) set up a long stick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: And after, and from that time, the rebellious roguish Boys, took up, and frequently used an Oath, *By the Cross of the seven Devils Heads buried on Saint James's Green*. And further say, that upon the testimony of a roguish Boy, that an *English* Man that was a Maulster to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had said, *He would believe the Devil, as soon as the Pope*; the cruel Rebel, the Provost Marshal *Cantwell* aforementioned, suddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further saith, that one *Onell Grace*, and divers other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same Church, of the Chalice, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in *St. Patrick's* Church, and digged the Tombs and Graves in the Churches in *Kilkenny*, under colour of getting up molds whercon to make Gunpowder: And these Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took as *Protestants*, Men, Women and Children, pretending and promising to them a Convey to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the way,

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in a Wood near *Newross*, and that the Rebels half hanged five more Protestants at *Balliragget*, by the command of the said Captain *Edward Butler*, and the said *Thomas Cantwell* the Marshal, and letting them down again before they were dead, suffered them somewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And these Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwell*, further say, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor *English* Man's Wife that went out to gather sticks, at a place about two miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwell*, further say, That a poor Woman and two Children, she being the Wife of one *Harvy* of *Balinekill*, coming to *Kilkenny* about *Candlemas* was twelve month, were then and there assaulted and set upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited, and drawn with Dogs, cruelly stab'd with Skeins, and so miserably used, that one of the Children died presently (having the guts pluckt out) and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwell* further saith, That there were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone* and his Wife and his Son, *William Valentine*, *Robert Pym* and his Wife, one of their Children of a year and a half old, and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his Wife, who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after she was hanged, so as the child fell out of the cawl alive; *Walter Sberly*, Mrs. *Joan Salter* an ancient Widow, one *John* a servant to *Stone* aforementioned; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Forrestal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forrestal* of *Tynybinch*, and the eldest son of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz-Geraldin* of *Knockeen* afore-said, and divers others whom she cannot name, all of the County of *Catterlagh*; which said *Robert Pym* after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and struck his hand upon his breast, saying, *Christ receive my Soul*, and with those Words in his mouth was then and there buried quick; and one of those poor Protestants at *Goran*, by name *Tristram Robinson*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thrust him through with darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried him quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* farther saith, That one *English* Protestant, who was a Shepherd, and his Wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownell*, the Rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his Wife perceiving breath in her Husband, said unto him, *Oh joy you are alive yet*; which when some of the Rebels over-hearing, hanged him outright, and dragged him up and down until his bowels fell out, then his wife desired them to hang her too, but they refused. And saith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? They answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have forty Thousand to come to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring Ammunition and Arms enough,

enough, and all things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*: 1641. And the Deponent, *Elizabeth Gilbert* further saith, That she heard one *James Eustace*, a Servant to the Rebel, Colonel *Cullen*, say publickly in Mr. *Joseph Wheeler's* House in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own desires, they would bring in a foreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer*, a Protestant, was (as his Wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

Examinations touching the Apparitions at *Portnedown-Bridge*, within the Province of *Ulster*.

James Shaw of *Market-Hill* in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, Depoeth, That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the time of this Deponent's restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and that it was a common Report that all those that lived about the Bridge of *Portnedown*, were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there of some Spirits or Visions for revenge, as that they durst not stay but fled away thence; (so as they protested,) affrighted to *Market-Hill*, saying, They durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those Cries and Spirits, but took Grounds and made Creates in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*, *Jurat. Aug. 14. 1642.*

Joan, the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gentleman, depoeth and saith, That she hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Conellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the Blood of some of those that were knock'd in the heads, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedown-Bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of Men, sometimes of Women, breast-high above the Water, at or near *Portnedown*, which did most extreemly and fearfully screech and cry out for vengeance against the *Irish* that had murdered their bodies there; and that their cries and screeches did so terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durst stay, nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongst the Rebels there, and that it pass'd for a truth amongst them, for any thing she could ever observe to the contrary. *Jurat. Jan. 1. 1643.*

Katherine, the Relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*, Carpenter, sworn and examined, saith, That about the twentieth of *December*, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did most barba-

1641. rously drown at that time one hundred and eighty Protestants, Men, Women and Children in the River, at the Bridge of *Portmadown*; and that about nine days afterwards, she saw a Vision or Spirit in the shape of a Man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the place of the drowning, bork upright Breast-high, with hands lifted up, and stood in that posture there, until the latter end of Lent next following: About which time some of the *English* Army marching in those Parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent) saw that Spirit or Vision standing upright, and in the posture aforementioned; but after that time, the said Spirit or Vision vanished, and appeared no more that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other Visions and Apparitions, and much screeching and strange noise heard in that River at times afterwards. *Jurat.* Feb. 24. 1643.

Elizabeth, the Wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That she and other Women, whose Husbands were murdered, hearing of divers Apparitions and Visions which were seen near *Portmadown*-Bridge, since the drowning of her Children, and the rest of the Protestants there, went unto the Bridge aforesaid about twilight in the Evening; then and there upon a sudden appeared unto them a Vision or Spirit, assuming the shape of a Woman, waste-high upright in the Water, naked, with elevated and closed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as Snow; which Spirit seemed to stand straight up in the Water, often repeating the word, *Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!* whereat this Deponent and the rest being put into a strange amazement and affright, walked from the place. *Jurat.* Jan. 29. 1644.

Arthur Culin, of *Clowoughier*, in the County of *Cavan*, Esq; deposeth, That he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty Women and young Children, and seven Men flung into the River of *Belterbert*; and when some of them offered to swim for their Lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the head with Poles; the same day they hanged two Women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O'Rely*, the then Sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the Murder of those said Persons, for that he saw him write two Notes which he sent to *Turbert* by *Bryan O'Rely*, upon whose coming these Murders were committed: And those Persons who were present also affirmed, that the Bodies of those thirty Persons drowned did not appear upon the Water till about six Weeks after past; as the said *O'Rely* came to the Town, all the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge; those Persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his Protection, when the rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth Price, Wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeeth, That 1641.
Sir Con Mac-Gennis suffered his Soldiers, the Rebels, to kill *Mr. Turge*,
 Minister of the *Newry*, and several other Protestants; and he, the said
Sir Con Mac-Gennis, on his Death-bed, was so much affrighted with ap-
 prehension that the said *Mr. Turge* so slain, was still in his presence, as
 that he commanded no Protestant from that time should be slain, but
 what should be killed in Battle; and after his death, *Sir Con Mac-Gennis*,
 his Brother, would have observed his directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis*,
 the young Lord of *Evagh* and *Monk Crely*, were earnest to have all the
 rest of the Protestants put to death.

Mr. George Creighton, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*,
 deposeeth, among other Particulars in his Examination, That divers Wo-
 men brought into his House a young Woman almost naked, to whom a
 Rogue came upon the way, these Women being present, and required
 her to give him her Money or else he would kill her, and so drew his
 Sword; her answer was, *You cannot kill me unless GOD give you leave,*
and his Will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three times at her
 naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her skin;
 whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left
 her; and that he saw this Woman, and heard this particular related by
 divers Women, who were by and saw what they reported.

Upon the view of these Examinations, all taken upon Oath, it may
 easily be conjectured how fatally the first Plot took, how furiously the
 Rebels throughout all parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their bar-
 barous bloody Executions, and what were the Courses they held to bring
 about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the *British* and Prote-
 stants there planted. It is most true, that in *Munster* and *Leinster* (and
 yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid Particulars re-
 lated in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were
 not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their Work so early as in
 the Provinces of *Ulster* and *Conaught*: The ill success of the Enterprize
 upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a stand,
 and caused them to take up new Counsels: But when they had once de-
 clared themselves, they did in very few days strip and despoil all the *Eng-*
lish settled among them, and drove great numbers of them even stark naked
 to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves Passage for
England, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of
 them did, being inhumanly denied any kind of Relief in those Towns
 under the command of the Rebels. And here I must not forget to in-
 terpose this certain Truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid
 Cruelties used towards the *British*, either in their bloody Massacres, or
 merciless despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them, were generally

The Cru-
 elties act-
 ed by the
Irish upon
 the *British*
 were be-
 fore any
 provoca-
 tion given
 them.

1641. acted in most parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable Resistance against their Fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the Power of his Majesty's Arms to make any Inroads into the Counties possessed by the Rebels: A Circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain Pretences and fond Recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, though it be also true, that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them, either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private interest, or such as they kept in Prison, were not put to the Sword, until the Rebels, in the several Encounters they had with his Majesty's Forces, suffered loss of their Men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such *British*, whether Men, Women, or Children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their Madness, Fury, and most implacable Malice, did, after the manner of brute Beasts, transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless Souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon trust from Persons of good Quality and Credit, who were long Prisoners among them.

The Cruelty of the *Irish* in murdering those Protestants which remained among them when at any time they received any loss by the *English* Forces.

I find in one part of Dr. *Maxwell's* Examination (which I thought not fit wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many particulars in it, nothing tending to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned) That about *May* 1642. when the *Scotish* Army under the command of General Major *Mowbray* had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Irish* out of those Parts with the slaughter of many of them; Sir *Phelim O Neal* caused five thousand *British*, whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyrone*, and other Parts of the North, to be most miserably murdered in the space of three days: *James Shaw*, of *Market-Hill* in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That during the time this Deponent was in restraint, and stayed among the Rebels, he observed and well knew, that the greatest part of the Rebels in the County of *Armagh* went to besiege the Castle of *Augher*, where they were repulsed, and divers of the Rebels of the *Sept* of *O Neals* slain: In revenge whereof, the grand Rebel, Sir *Phelim O Neal* gave direction and warrant to one *Mulmory Mac-Donel*, a most cruel and merciless Rebel, to kill all the *English* and *Scotish* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilclumny*; whereupon the said Rebel did murder twenty seven *Scotish* and *English* Protestants within Musket-shot of this Deponent's own House; and further saith, that in those three Parishes there have been before that and since, by killing, drowning, and starving, put to death above one thousand five hundred Protestants within the said three Parishes.

William

William Fitz-Gerald a Clerk, of *Irish* Birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, and there residing when this Rebellion brake out, deposeth and saith, That all places of the North where Sir *Phelim O Neil* under the name of General of the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with murders of the Protestants: And that when at *Augher*, *Lisnagarpy*, or any other Places the Rebels received loss of their Men, those that escaped, exercised their cruelty upon the Protestants every where at their return: And that about the first of *May* 1642. when Sir *Phelim O Neal* had notice of the taking of the *Newry* by his Majesty's Forces, he retired that Night in all haste to the Town of *Armagh*, and the next Day as well the Town of *Armagh* as the Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houses in the Country round about, together with all Provisions were fired by the Rebels; and many Men, Women and Children murdered as well in the Town as in the Country round about.

1641.

There is much more to be said on this subject, but I shall forbear to rake further into many other foul Circumstances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the publick affairs of State, where I left them in the Hands of the Lords Justices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impestred with Strangers, by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill affected Persons that daily made repair thereunto; they issued out severall other Proclamations to prohibit the access of all Strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City without calling or settled Habitation, to depart.

Sir *Henry Tichborn* being dispatched with his Regiment of Foot to *Tredagh* as is formerly mention'd, the Lords Justices took further Order for the present raising of other Foot Companies, as likewise some Troops of Horse which might serve for the defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in most imminent Danger, by reason of the approaches made by the Forces of the Rebels. Sir *Charles Coote* had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stript *English*, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the Town, and upon the engagements of the State procured cloaths for them. The Lord *Lambert* to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of another Regiment, began also to get some Men together. The Earl of *Ormonde* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop consisting of one hundred Curassiers compleatly armed: Sir *Thomas Lucas* who had long commanded a Troop of Horse in the *Low-Countries*, and Captain *Armstrong*, sometime after, yet very seasonably, came thither: Both of them had Money imprest, Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armstrong* to raise a new Troop; Captain *Farher* also arrived soon after at *Dublin*, he was sent out of *England* by the Lord

Some Troops of Horse and Regiments of Foot raised by the Lords Justices and Council.

b. D. P. 41.

Lieu-

1641. Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 Horse, many Persons then living in the Town being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop: Not long after Colonel *Craford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the *Prince Elector* then attending his Majesty in *Scotland*, under whom he had formerly the command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*: The Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear Arms within the City of *Dublin*; none were to be admitted into it but Protestants, and out of them they made choice not only of the Soldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing of the disorders daily appearing within the City, and restraining the ill affections of the Papists therein inhabiting, they made Sir *Charles Coote* Governour of the City, and gave him an allowance of forty Shillings *per diem* for the present. Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves in getting their Men together under their several commands, and in training them up to the use of their Arms: And the Governour of the Town taking strict Order for constant Watches within, and Guards without to restrain the repair of all suspicious and ill-affected Persons: I shall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the Parliament according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Justices, which some of the ill-affected members of both Houses endeavoured to make use of for the raising of further Troubles.

Sir Charles
Coote made
Governor
of the
City of
Dublin.

The ad-
journ-
ment of
the Parlia-
ment.

In the Month of *August* before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17th of *November* next ensuing: Now upon the discovery of the late Conspiracy for the surprize of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the ordinary Place of meeting for both Houses of Parliament; the Lords finding that the fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the Kingdom, resolved as a matter highly tending to the safety and security of the City and Castle, to Prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation then set out, until the 24th of *February*. But two or three Days before such of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of course in their several Houses for declaring the said Prorogation, it was generally noised abroad that the putting off the Parliament was extremely ill taken by the Popish Members of both Houses, Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* West, and highly complaining of the injury which (he said) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expressing their loyal Affections to his Majesty, and shewing their desires to quell this dangerous Rebellion; and that they had reason to resent it so far, as to com-
plain

plain to the King thereof, as a point of high injustice, his Lordship having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was presently sent for, and he used the same Language in effect there, though with much modesty. 1641.

Hereupon the Lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reasonable in them to condescend to their desires: Some were of Opinion that it was fit to disannul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the first adjournment made the beginning of *August*. They urged the very ill condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that those of the Counties of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, as well as some other Counties in *Conagh* had already joyned themselves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure so irritate the *Pake*, and have such an influence into *Munster* as might raise them into Arms, and so put the whole Kingdom into a general Combustion. Others for the Board Voted strongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their Opinion upon these reasons; first, That it would highly trench upon the gravity and wisdom of the Board to alter a resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious debate and publicly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; That it would be of most dangerous consequence to bring so great a multitude of People to the City in such dangerous times; that the Protestants and well-affected Members of both Houses were for the most part either destroyed, dispersed, or so shut up as they could not repair to the present meeting, and that therefore the *Irish* would be superior in number and voices, and so wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that considering the small Forces then in the City, such great numbers as might take occasion under colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and disturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and so both joyning together, they might easily destroy the State with the poor remainders of the *English* Nation in these parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour so to attemper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse, might in some measure rest satisfied therewith. And therefore after a long debate of all particular circumstances, they came at length to this resolution, that the Earl of *Ormonde*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, three Members of the Board, should have a meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and some others of the most active and powerful Members of the House of Commons, and that they should let them know from the Lords, that they have understood of their good Affections and Desires to do somewhat in the House that might tend towards


The Popish party much discontented at it.

13

1641. wards the suppression of this present Rebellion, that they approved extrem well thereof: And that howsoever they could by no means remove absolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their satisfaction as to limit it to a shorter time, and that at present they would give them leave to sit one whole day in case they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear Protestation against the Rebels: As also, that they should have liberty, if they pleased, to make choice of some Members of their own House to send down to treat with the Rebels about laying down of Arms: And for their Grievances, that their Lordships would with all readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to his Majesty for a speedy Redress: All this was accordingly performed; the meeting was in the Gallery at Cork-House; those of the House of Commons seemed at first to be extremely troubled when they found there was no possibility of altering the present Prorogation: But upon a further debate, when they came to understand how ready the Lords were to yield to their satisfaction, and that the Time of the Prorogation should be shortened, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the Protestation in such full and ample manner as was desired, and that they would fall immediately upon it, and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17th of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament, which was held in the usual place of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*: And for the better security of the Place as well as of the Persons of those that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but such care taken that they should carry so free from giving any Offence, as no manner of Umbrage might be taken at their Attendance there. The Houses were both very thin, there were only in the House of Peers some few *English* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and some two or three Bishops. In the House of Commons, they took into their consideration upon their first meeting, the framing of the Protestation against the **Rebels**. But those of the Popish Party spoke so ambiguously, and handled the matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the name of **Rebels**: So as they sent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Protestation against them, which being in their House taken into debate, it was strongly contested by the Protestant Lords that they should be stiled **Rebels**, but that as stiffly opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both, which gave an Accommodation, saying, *They had Rebeliously and Traiterously raised Arms*; and so both Parties being reasonably satisfied, the Protestation was drawn up and returned back to the House of Commons in this Tenour as followeth.

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled.

 Hereas the happy and peaceable Estate of this Realm hath been of late, and is still interrupted by sundry Persons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquility thereof, who, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, and against the Laws of GOD, and the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Traiterously and Rebellionously raised Arms, have seized upon some of his Majesty's Forts and Castles, and disposed many of his Majesty's faithful Subjects of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane Outrages, and Acts of Hostility within this Realm. 1641.

The said LORDS and COMMONS, in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right Sense of the said disloyal rebellious Proceedings and Actions of the Persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare, That they the said LORDS and COMMONS, from their Hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost Power maintain the Rights of his Majesty's Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and Safety thereof, as well against the Persons aforesaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all Foreign Princes, Potentates, and other Persons, and Attempts whatsoever; and in case the Persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Suitors to his Majesty for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by his Majesty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm shall be set down: The said LORDS and COMMONS do further protest and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will, with their Lives and Fortunes, suppress them, and their Attempts, in such a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his most Excellent Majesty, or of his Majesty's Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per

Phil. Percival.

Cleric. Parliament.

1641.

Both Houses of Parliament sat two days, and the Time of the Prorogation being shortened unto the 11th of *January*, the Lords made choice of the Lord Viscount *Castelo* to go into *England*, to carry over their Desires to his Majesty, concerning the means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And besides those Instructions formerly mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popish Lords some, more private, which were to negotiate the staying such Forces as were intended to be sent out of *England* for that end.

The
Houses of
Parliament
sent
to treat
with the
Rebels.

Both Houses joined together to appoint certain Lords and some Members of the House of Commons to go down to the Northern *Rebels*, to understand the cause of their rising in Arms: And referred them to the Lords Justices for their Instructions, which accordingly they received, together, with a Commission under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper Root than was at that time discovered, this Commission was of little Operation, and the intended Treaty soon vanished. The Northern *Rebels* were then so puffed up with their late Victories over the poor surprised, unresisting *English* in those Parts, and had so deeply drenched their hands in the Blood of those Innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a most barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament, together with the Letter sent unto them, and returned a most scornful answer, fully expressing thereby how far they were from any Thought of laying down Arms, or entertaining any Overtures towards an Accommodation.

Within a few days after the Adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Castelo*, accompanied with the Lord *Taffe*, embarked for *England*, but by a most impetuous Storm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their Papers were seized upon by directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their Persons committed unto safe Custody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the same time, and certainly upon the same Errand: When the unhappy Breach began first betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty thought fit to retire to *York*, those two Lords found means to make an Escape, and all three constantly followed the Court, where, in those high Distempers that afterwards happened in *England*, they easily found means to ingratiate themselves at Court, and had the opportunity to do those good Offices for their Country-men which brought on the Cessation of Arms with them in due time.

Letters
written to
the Lord
Lieutenant.

The Lords Justices and Council by their Letters bearing date about the 20th of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full account of the State of the Kingdom, than they could any ways do at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the

the very ill Condition of their present Affairs, they moved that the Supplies of Men, Money, Commanders, and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his Lordship would presently repair hither in his own Person to undertake the management of the War. About the 10th of the Month of November, their Lordships received an answer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordships, he had acquainted both Houses of Parliament with them; that he had also sent to his Majesty, still continuing at *Edenborough* in *Scotland*, to represent the Condition of their Affairs, and that he understood his Majesty had received some Advertisements out of the North of *Ireland* of the present Rebellion there: His Lordship also farther let them know, that his Majesty had referred the whole Business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the War; that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed for their present Supplies the Sum of 50000*l.* and had taken order for making of all further Provisions necessary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his said Letters unto the Lords Justices, by whose command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, November 12. 1641. as here followeth, being intituled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THE LORDS and COMMONS in this present Parliament, being advertised of the dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the treacherous and wicked Instigation of Romish Priests and Jesuits, for the bloody Massacre and Destruction of all Protestants living there, and other his Majesty's Loyal Subjects of English Blood, though of the Romish Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Testimony of their Fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majesty, and the Crown of *England*, from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of setting up the Popish Religion) have thereupon taken into their serious Consideration, how these mischievous Attempts might be most speedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour,

1641. *nour, Safety and Interest of this Kingdom, are most nearly and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to serve his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, in such a way, as shall be thought most effectual, by the Wisdom and Authority of Parliament: And thereupon have ordered and provided for a present Supply of Money, and raising the number of six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to be sent from England, being the full Proportion desired by the Lords Justices, and his Majesty's Council resident in that Kingdom, with a Resolution to add such further Succours, as the necessity of those Affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing Arms and Munition, not only for those Men, but likewise for his Majesty's faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with store of Victuals, and other Necessaries, as there shall be occasion, and that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say, Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cumberland, where the Magazines, and Store-Houses shall be kept for the Supply of the several parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved to be humble Mediators to his most Excellent Majesty, for the Encouragement of those English, or Irish, who shall, upon their own Charges, raise any number of Horse, or Foot, for his Service against the Rebels, that they shall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in Ireland, according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence, to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the power of the Commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesty's gracious Pardon to all such as within a convenient time, (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom) shall return to their due Obedience, the greatest part whereof, they conceive have been seduced upon false Grounds, by the cunning and subtle Practices of some of the most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such Rewards, as shall be thought fit, and published by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall arrest the Persons, or bring in the Heads of such Traytors, as shall be personally named in any Proclamation published by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majesty's loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their Duty and Conscience to GOD, and his Religion, and the great and eminent Danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable Treason be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all Readiness, Bounty, and cheerfulness to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for the common good of all.*

Jo. Brown, Cleric. Parliament.

About

About the same time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of *Ireland*, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own Person; made the Earl of *Ormonde* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said Earl did within few days after receive a Letter from his Majesty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the Sum of 20000*l.* from the Parliament; the Coin which arrived here was all in *Spanish* Pieces of Eight which went for 4*d.* in a piece here more than in *England*; and this gain the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the Transportations should make at that time in regard of the charge and venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived most seasonably, even when all that little Money they had was quite spent in raising, and paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly destitute of all means to draw in any Contributions towards the relieving of their present necessities.

1641.
Commission granted to the Earl of *Ormond*, to be Lieutenant-General of the Forces in *Ireland*.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, a great number of poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance, by the Rebels. Now that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted, what murders committed, and who were the chief Actors in them throughout the several Provinces: The Lords Justices and Council thought fit to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy to take upon Oath the several Examinations of all such Persons, that having suffered by this present Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them, as will appear by the Commission it self, a Copy, whereof I have thought fit to insert.

Commission issued out for the Examination upon Oath of the losses of the *British*, and the cruelties exercised by the *Irish* upon them.

CHarles by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, Dean of *Kilmore*, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Warlon, Clerks, Greeting; Whereas divers wicked and disloyal People, have lately risen in several parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed and spoiled many of our good Subjects, *British* and *Protestants*, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner: And for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the same; Know ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time, to call before you and examine upon Oath on the Holy Evangelists (which hereby

we

1641. we authorize you or any two or more of you to administer) as well all such Persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein, what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since the 22d of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them: What the particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies, or what day or night the said robberies or spoils committed, or to be committed, were done: What traitorous or disloyal Words, Speeches, or Actions were then or at any other time uttered or committed those robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars and every of them: And you our said Commissioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you, or any two or more of you, shall take as aforesaid; and the same to return to our Justices and Council of this our Realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you as aforesaid. Witness our right trusty and well beloved Counsellours, Sir William Parsons, Knight and Baronet, and Sir John Boriace, Knight, our Justices of our said Realm of Ireland: Dublin 23d of December, in the seventeenth Year of our Reign.

Carleton.

The Commissioners above nominated, did very seriously address themselves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulness, and have so well performed the charge imposed upon them as that by several Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good Estates were discovered to be the chief Actors in the Depredations of the British, and to have committed many most horrid Murders and other notorious Cruelties, which through their industry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Posterity, and wrapt up in Oblivion. The like Commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster and Ulster: In the Province of Munster, the Commissioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high Concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed, and not returned up according as is required by the said Commissions.

Towards the latter end of November, the Lords Justices and Council considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation set forth in Print, give strict charge and command, That upon every Friday a publick and religious Fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and thorough the whole City and Suburbs of Dublin, by all his Majesty's People therein, and that Divine Service and Sermons be

A weekly
Fast appointed.

be celebrated and heard upon the said day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the said City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be performed as is expressed in the said Proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of Almighty God, may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine Aid and Assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded, to such miserable Persons as these Traytors, by their Rapine and Cruelty, have deprived of their Fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City. 1641.

The Lords Justices and Council being advertised of the near approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*, prepared to send down supplies both of Men and Munition, for the re-inforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed six hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse for that Service, and they were almost in a readiness to march, when an express from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earl of *Ormonde*, to let him know the Rebels had that day, being the 21st of *November*, appeared within sight of the Town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their Forces made a stand there, they sent down a Party of thirteen hundred Foot to *Milliford*, the Lord *Moore's* House, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but contrary to their expectation, they found there twenty four Musketers and fifteen Horsemen, who very stoutly defended the House as long as their powder lasted. The Horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out and made their passage thorough the midst of the Rebels, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped safe to *Tredagh*. The Foot having refused to accept of the quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last Man; they endured several assaults, slew a hundred and forty of the Rebels, before their Powder failed them: And at last they gave up the place upon promise of quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold Blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepid Men slain, the House ransacked, and all the goods carried away. The approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*.

Upon the receipt of Sir *Henry Tichbourn's* Letter, the Lords presently took order for the marching away of the six hundred Men, together with a Troop of Horse towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27th of *November*, and such was the negligence of the Captains and disorders of the Soldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than *Swords*, a Village six miles distant from *Dublin*: The command of the Foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Reper*, and of the Horse to Sir *Patrick Wexmes*, who was appointed with fifty of the Earl of *Ormonde's* Troop to march with these six Companies to *Tredagh*. The very day of their departure from

1641. from *Dublin*, there was an Advertisement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the Rebels were drawn on this side the River of the *Boyne*, and attended with design to intercept their passage: Whereupon the Earl of *Ormonde* by direction from the Lords, dispatched an exprels to give them now upon their march notice thereof, and after to pass on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn*, to let him know as much; and that the Recruits designed for the re-inforcement of his Garrison being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take special care for the securing of their passage. And next day his Lordship received an answer from him of that Letter, with assurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than *Balrudy*, and so lying that night eight miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what accident or upon what reason I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the Town where he stood with his Men in a readiness to march towards them: The Men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to Travel, and failing of Provision by the way, which for their Money they could not by any means procure from the Country People as they marched along, were very much discontented, and being somewhat tired with their Journey, went on next day, but in much disorder, so careless, and so little apprehensive of any danger, as some had Arms, but no Munition about them; others for their own ease committed the carriage of both to the Carts. As they passed through *Gormanstone*, the Major went in to give a Visit to the Lord of *Gormanstone*, who told him that there were some Numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very night before (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readiness to come and encounter the *English* Forces now upon their march. The Major had likewise other Advertisements to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captains therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; He only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the passage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the Bridge of *Julian's Town*, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a House within one quarter of a mile of the place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfast, a Boy belonging to the House, took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following, turned up into a Field on the left-hand of the Lane, where, by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the

The defeat of the Forces sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

the Rebels, till they were almost within Musket-shot of them. The Major drew his Men presently into Battalia, but the Horse (as some of the Foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great Shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of Countermarch, all the Men possessed as it were with a pannick Fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second Shout given by the Rebels (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be perswaded to stand a Charge, but betook themselves to their heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the Execution.

Sir Patrick Weames, without the loss of one Horse, passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major with two of the Captains more, and about a hundred of their Men, made an Escape thither likewise: The other three Captains, with all the rest of the Soldiers that were *English*, were there cut off; they spared very few or none that fell into their hands, but such as were *Irish*, whose lives they preserved: The Arms of the whole six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Munition and Carriages: And so highly were the Rebels encouraged with this Defeat given to his Majesty's Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver; they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted Sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the Mouths of those that were present) of that famous Victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the Inexperience of the *English* Commanders, and the Disorders of the common Soldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never seen any Service, contributed far more than any Skill or Courage shewed by the Rebels, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a loud Shout. Besides, they were treble their number, and had for their Leaders, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O'Rely*; the two last Persons, who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the *Spanish* Discipline, and were of greatest Experience among them: They brought down a great part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*; and as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great numbers of the ordinary Churlcs of the *Pale* adjoynded themselves unto their Men, and so made up a Body sufficient to perform that Service.

The News of this unhappy Defeat was brought the very same day, being Monday the 29th of *November* at Evening, to the Lords Justices as they sate in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a matter of great rejoycing among the Popish Inhabitants of the City, so it

1641. bred a general Sorrow and Consternation among the *English* and Protestants: It happened in a very ill Season, the late made Colonels were but then in raising of their Men: And such Companies as were compleated, were by the Lords the same day of the marching of the six hundred Men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coor*, into the County of *Wicklou*, for the repressing of the Insolencies of the *Birns* and the *Tools* towards the poor *English*, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory as soon as they had taken in the King's Fort, in that County called *Carew's Fort*, and possessed themselves of the chief Places of strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there: He marched to the Town of *Wicklou*, where he caused some few Men and one Woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late Spoils committed most barbarously upon the *English* there; and the very Clothes of an *English* Woman that was stripped, being found upon the Back of that *Irish* Woman that was there hanged. In his return, *Luke Toole*, with near a thousand *Irish* under his command, encountred him, but he quickly made them fly and take to the next Bogg, with the loss of some few of their Men: And so he returned with all possible speed to *Dublin*, the Lords having sent him notice of the late Defeat given to the Forces sent to *Tredagh*: As soon as he arrived, he applyed himself very carefully to the securing of the Town, which now began to be more desperately threatned than ever, by the near approaches of the Rebels: And so great were the disorders then in the City, so inconsiderable the Forces raised, the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the Papists so highly raised in Spirit and Courage, as had the Commanders of the Rebels drawn those Forces together as they had in readines on both sides the River of *Boyne* for the Siege of *Tredagh*, and so marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the advantage of the present Distractions, and forward Affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them, they had in all humane probability made themselves Masters of the City, and might so straitly have begirt the Castle, as would within a very short time have endangered the surrender of it; but it pleased GOD to insatuate their Counsels: The strong Opinion they had that they should presently carry *Tredagh*, and so possess themselves of all the Arms and Munition they had in that Town, caused them to fix their Resolutions there, and to set up their rest upon the obtaining that place. In this, as in many other wonderful Acts of Divine Providence which I then observed with great admiration, it pleased GOD to appear even miraculously in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, with the poor remainders of *English* and Protestants, who had there taken sanctuary.

And

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, thought it high time 1641. to discover themselves and their affections to the Cause: They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their Thoughts, but were, as the several forementioned Examinations testify, the first Contrivers and Bringers in of the Northern Rebels into this execrable Plot; they had now likewise drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not now hope much longer to walk under a Mask, and entertain the State with further professions of their Loyalty: They had gotten a competent proportion of Arms and Munition out of his Majesty's Store into their own possession: They saw now the Northern Rebels advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very considerable Forces to strengthen their Party, and by the late Encounter and successful Victory they had therein, they pleased their fancies with confident Conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themselves by a publick conjunction in the common Cause, and raising such numbers of Men and quantities of Provision, as the plentiful Circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would prosecute the War so happily begun, and so successfully managed hitherto.

The defection of the Lords and chief Gentlemen within the *English Pale*.

These and several other Considerations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did within very few days after the late Defeat solemnly proceed on to the actual Consummation of their long meditated Revolt. For the manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I shall refer the Reader to this ensuing Relation, given in upon Oath, *March* 1641. before Sir *Robert Meredith*, Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall*, Esquire, a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well esteemed among them, one that was present at all their Meetings, and deeply engaged in all their Counsels and Actions.

The manner of the conjunction of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale* with the Northern Rebels, expressed in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall*, Esq;

He deposes, That some four or five days after the Defeat of the *English* Soldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianstown*, there issued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanstone*, to the Sheriff of the County, for a general meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Croft*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the County met, viz. the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, the Lord of *Trimblestone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry, Sir *Patrick Barnwall*, Sir *Christopher Bellow*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Bath* of *Acbarne*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Cusack* of *Gormanstone*, *William Malone* of *Lesmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglaun*, *Linch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamstown*, *Laurence Dowdal* of *Atblumney*, *Nicholas Dowdal* of *Brownstown*, this Examinee's Brother, and him, this Examinee, with a multitude of others, to the number of a thousand Persons at the least, whose names he, this Examinee, cannot

1641. for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said Hill of *Crofty*, by the Lords and Gentry aforesaid: There came towards them, Colonel *Mobowne*, *Philip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a Guard of Musketers: And this Examine saith, That as soon as the Parties drew near unto the said Hill, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanstone*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what reason, they came armed into the *Pale*? Unto which *Roger Moore* made present answer, That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the Freedom and Liberty of their Consciences, the Maintenance of his Majesty's Prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the Subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were; whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanstone* desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not Pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing; and likewise whether they had not some other private Ends of their own; which being by all denied, upon profession of their sincerity, his Lordship, the Lord of *Gormanstone* then told them: Seeing these be your true Ends, we will likewise join with you therein; unto which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whosoever should deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this Examine saith, That after the agreement so made, as aforesaid, there issued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Taragh*, about a Week after; and accordingly there met at the same place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen afore-named, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a multitude of others; and the work of that day was first to make answer to a Summons made by the State for calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*; which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and presented by his Lordship, and being perused by the said Council at Law, was signed by the Lords.

In this manner was this great Transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Leinster*, and *Ulster*; *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelim O Neale* styles them in his *Characteristical* Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, on the one side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now receiv'd, they had at length

length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of it, and appeared the great publick Instruments of this powerful Union. 1641.

The Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*: They now wholly applyed their endeavours to make such preparatives towards the War, as might strengthen their Party, which as it now stood in conjunction with the Northern Rebels they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*: Several Gentlemen who in the several Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their Obedience, and addressed themselves and their Companies wholly to the service of the Rebels. *Nicholas White*, Esq; Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Leflip*, was the first that gave the Example about the second of *December*: But he carried the matter so handsomely, as his Company ran away to the Rebels, as he pretended, without his consent, or even his knowledge, any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same: But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the Men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the Rebels: Many of the other Captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themselves and their Arms up to be disposed as they should direct without any further scruple or complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great confidence reposed in such Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to imploy their own Arms against them, they took such order, and with such celerity and diligence made stay of several of those Arms, which were delivered out for the use of the *Pale*, as of the one thousand seven hundred Arms distributed among the several Counties thereof, they recovered again into their hands nine hundred and fifty.

The endeavours of those of the *Pale* to strengthen their party against the power of the State.

And now by reason the Northern Rebels had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and so lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all intercourse in the *Pale* was interrupted, the passages stopt up, and the Lords Justices and Council understood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to encrease through the near approach of the Rebels unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual affronts, and new scorns the State daily received from them, their own want of Strength to repress their bold attempts, or to preserve the poor *English* round about them out of their bloody Hands, *Dublin*.

The reasons why the State summon'd the Grand Council of all the Lords of the *Pale*, and others then in the City of

1641. *W* Hands, resolved now (in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large protestations and great professions of loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendering a most acceptable service to his Majesty and the State here. For this end therefore they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords which resided within any convenient distance of the City of *Dublin*: clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly it imported them in respect of their own particular safety, as well as for the preservation of the whole Kingdom, not only to contribute their best advice and counsel, but even all the Forces they could any ways raise towards the beating of the Northern Rebels out of the *Pale*. Several Letters of Summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*; the tenour of them here ensueth.

A Copy of
the Letter
written by
the Lords
Justices &
Council to
the Lords
of the
Pale,

*A*fter our very hearty commendations to your Lordship; for as much as we have present occasion to confer with you, concerning the present estate of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger: We pray and require your Lordship to be with us here on the eighth day of this Month, at which time others of the Peers are also to be here: And this being to no other end, we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin* the third of December 1641.

Your very loving Friends,

To our very good Lord

George Earl of
Kildare.

William Parson,
John Borlacy,
Ormond Ossory,
Ant. Medenfis,
Robert Dillon,
Adam Loftus,
George Shirley,
John Temple,
Rob. Meredith.

The like Letters *eodem die*, to these several Persons following:

Earl of *Ormonde*.
Earl of *Antrim*.
Earl of *Fingale*.
Vis. *Gormanstone*.
Vis. *Netterville*.
Vis. *Fitzwilliam*.

Lord *Trimbleston*.
Lord *Dunsany*.
Lord *Slaine*.
Lord of *Hoath*.
Lord *Lowth*.
Lord *Lambert*.

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before, or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick combination with the *Ulster* Rebels before mentioned, durst no more adventure their persons within the City of *Dublin*: But after their meeting at the Hill of *Croft*, appointed another meeting at the Hill of *Tarab*, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which as Mr. *Dowdall* testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanstone* ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth:

May it please your Lordships.

WE have received your Letters of the third of this instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this Instant; We give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisement, that Sir Charles Coot, Knight, at the Council Board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatned evils, or the safety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best Guard until we hear from your Lordships

The Answer of the Lords of the Pale to the Lords Justices.

1641. *ships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his Majesty's service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof, to our best abilities: and so with the said tender of our humble service, we remain,*

Your Lordships humble Servants,

To the Right Honourable our
very good the Lords Justices
and Council of Ireland.

*Fingale, Gormanstone, Slane,
Dunsany, Netterville, Oliver,
Lowth, Trimblestone.*

Dublin, Decemb. 7. Received 11. 1641.

A Proclamation issued out by the Lords Justices and Council for the satisfaction of the Lords of the Pale.

In answer to this Letter, the Lords Justices and Council, out of their unfeigned desires to give unto those Lords all due satisfaction, and to remove those jealousies and great misunderstandings now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of His Majesty's good Subjects of the *Romish* Religion, That they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any other utter at the Board or elsewhere, any such speeches tending to a purpose or resolution to execute upon those of their profession, or upon any other, a general Massacre or any Massacre at all; and that they never intended so to dishonour his Majesty and this State, or wound their own Consciences, as to entertain the least thought of acting so odious, impious, and detestable a thing upon any persons whatsoever; and that if any proof can be made of any such Words spoken by any person whatsoever, he shall be severely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the said Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the seventeenth day of *December*, that they might confer with them: And for the security of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of those Noblemen, the word and assurance of the State, that they might then securely and safely come unto them without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Justices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northern *Rebels*. By the Examinations taken of some *English*, who made their escape out of those parts; the news of their solemn contract and Association before mentioned, was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough discerned the main obstruction in their

their coming, the cause of their tergiversations, and what good reason 1641. they had to find out excuses to palliate their disloyalty. They then expected no other fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldness and confidence, by way of Answer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Justices, wherein they pretend themselves so justly affrighted with Sir Charles Coot's severity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themselves within the confines of his Government: They heavily impose upon him the inhumane acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of Wicklow, the Massacre of Sautry, and the burning of Mr. King's house and his whole substance at Clantarfe; and with a little kind of cunning, they seem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the Lords Justices to Sir Charles Coot; and thereupon desire no sinister construction may be made of their stay, and that they may have some Commissioners appointed to confer with them, and so conclude with some professions of their Loyalty and Readiness to give their advices for the advancement of his Majesty's service, and the common peace of the Kingdom.

Several pretences of the Lords of the Pale to colour their refusal to repair to the Lords Justices and Council.

This was an Answer, such as might justly be expected to come from persons so deeply now involved in the guilt of so high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their shifts, and enforced to take up such fond excuses, and imaginary pretences for their disloyalty: For they could not in their own consciences, but be most sensible of the very great indulgence used by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in several particulars to manifest the great confidence they had in their good affections: They had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealousy. They had foreborn the doing some acts of hostility for a time upon some Rebels among them, because they would not give them any the least cause of complaint. And however it appeared by the Examination of Macmahon and several others, that they were privy to the first Plot; yet the Lords proceeded with so much caution and tenderness towards them, hoping that now the Conspirators had failed in the main part of their design, which was the surprisal of the Castle of Dublin, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a just concurrence with them, for the preservation of the Kingdom out of the Hands of those bloody Northern Rebels, who in the Beginning were the only appearers in the cause: But all was to no purpose, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewise of the Pale with them.

The great indulgence used by the Lords Justices and Council towards the Lords of the Pale.

1641. And now it shall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their parts: About the beginning of *December*, presently after the late defeat given to the *English* Soldiers in their march to *Tredagh*, *Luke Netterville* second Son to the Lord Viscount of the *Netterville*, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts, not to fail upon pain of death, presently to repair unto *Swoords*, a Town within six miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few days after, did meet there the said *Luke Netterville*, *Geo. Blackney*, Esq; *Geo. King*, *Job. Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Russel*, *Christopher Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barnwell*, *Lawrence Bealing*, *Holy-wood of Artaine*, and several other Gentlemen, who began to gather great numbers of Men about them; and putting such Arms into their hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their provisions to entertain a settled Camp within that place. The Lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous Assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous consequences that might ensue thereupon, sent this Warrant following in a fair manner, requiring thereby their present repair unto them.

The Gentlemen of the *Pale* required by the Lords Justices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

WHereas we have received Information, that *Luke Netterville*, Esq; *Blackney* of *Rickenhore*, Esq; and *George King* of *Clantarfe*, Gentleman; and other Gentlemen of the County of *Dublin*, with great numbers of men are assembled together in a body at *Swoords* and thereabouts, within six miles of this City, for what intent we know not, but apparently to the terreur of his Majesty's good Subjects; and although, considering the unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an Act without our privity (whatsoever their pretence is) a construction might be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent interpretation of their actions, in regard of the good opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen who (it seems) are principals amongst them in that Assembly, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that enterprise, we have chosen the rather hereby to charge the said *Luke Netterville*, *Blackney*, *King*, and all the persons there assembled with them, upon their duties of Allegiance to his Majesty, immediately upon sight hereof

hereof to separate, and not to unite any more in that manner without direction from us: And that the said Netterville, Blackney, King, and six others of the principal persons of those who are so assembled at Swords or thereabouts as aforesaid, do appear before us to morrow morning at ten of the Clock, to shew the cause of their assembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extreame perils. 1641.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 9 December, 1641.

Ormond Offory,
Robert Dillon,
Cha. Lambart,
John Temple,
Charles Coot.

But they were so far from rendring obedience to the commands they received from the Board, as they kept the messenger in restraint a day and a night, threatening to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory Answer, signifying unto their Lordships, *That they were constrained to meet there together, for the safety of their lives; that they were put in so great a terrour by the rising out of some horse Troops and foot Companies at Dublin, who killed four Catholicks for no other reason, than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their Houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the safety of their lives before they run the Hazard thereof, by manifesting their obedience due unto their Lordships.* These were the very words and expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer: And accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of men and threatening to come down and encamp themselves at *Clontarfe*, a little Village standing upon the very harbour of *Dublin*; where some of their followers had already at a low water seized upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling house of the said *King*, to whom that Village did belong. This was an act of so high a strain, and so eminently tending to the present ruin of the City, as it required a sudden Remedy; Delays were dangerous in a matter of such perilous consequence; and the Lords Justices and Council, plainly perceived that if the Rebels were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themselves Masters of those few Barks then in the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair way, if

The Answer made by the Pale to the Lord's Warrant.

1641. they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to join with them, to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their relief all such succours as should be designed in *England* to land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the said King continued still with *Luke Notterville* and those other Gentlemen at *Swords*, that they carried themselves with such high contumacy, as that disdaining to render any obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take some other course with them; and therefore about four days after, the day first set down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after another Proclamation published for their immediate separation, the Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the Earl of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces in *Ireland*.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons, John Borlace.

A warrant from the Lords Justices and Council for the suppressing of the Rebels of the Pale.

FOrasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of *Clantarf*, *Raheny*, and *Kilbarrock*, have declared themselves Rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of his Majesty's good Subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, mustering and training of their *Rebellious Multitudes*, to the terror and danger of his Majesty's good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea; which their boldness is acted in such manner as to put Scorns and Affronts upon this State and Government, they acting such depredations even before our faces, and in our own view as it were in despite of us: It is therefore ordered, that our very good Lord the Earl of *Ormonde* and *Offory*, Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out a party of Soldiers of Horse and Foot, to fall upon those Rebels at *Clantarf* and thereabouts, who in such disdainful manner, stand to outface and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for punishment as terror to others, and to burn and spoil the Rebels Houses and Goods: And to prevent their farther annoying of the Shipping, going out and coming in, and lying in Harbour, those Soldiers are to bring up, or cause to be brought up to the new Crane at *Dublin*, such of the Boats and Vessels now lying there as they can upon the sudden; and to burn, spoil and sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, December 14. 1641.

Or. *Offory*, *Rob. Dillon*, *Cha. Lambart*, *Ad. Lofrus*.
Jo. *Temple*, *Cha. Coore*. *Fran. Willoughby*.

According

According to their Lordships Directions, the Earl of Ormonde gave pre-
sent Order to Sir Charles Coote to march out privately with some Forces
unto Clontarfe, which he did without any noise, and meeting there with
no opposition, he only suffered his Men to pillage the Town, whereof
they burnt some part, as also part of Mr. King's House, in which much
of the goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before
mentioned: And this was the first expedition that the Forces newly raised
in Dublin, made after the defeat of the six hundred Men in their passage
to Treilagh: As for the Massacre at Santry, mentioned in the answer from
the Lords of the Pale, and obtruded on the World, as a just pretence to
deter them from waiting on the Lords at Dublin, it was no other than
this: Information was given to some of the Officers of the Army, that
there had been a robbery newly committed by certain Rebels at the House
of one Smith, called the Buskin, within five miles of the City: And that
if a Party of Soldiers might be sent forth, the Informer offered to bring
them upon those Rebels, as also upon other Rebels, who had lately mur-
dered one Mr. Derick Hubart a Dutch Merchant at the Skerries; where-
upon two Officers with forty Foot, were sent out with direction to fall
upon those Rebels: They went directly to Santry, and there finding some
Strangers with Weapons lodged in suspicious Places, they slew four of
them; who as was conceived were criminal Offenders, and one of them
after upon further enquiry found to be a Protestant.

1641.

Sir Charles
Coote marches out
with
some Forces to
Clontarfe

The true
relation of
the pre-
tended
Massacre
at Santry.

But how fairly soever this matter was carried, yet they resolved to make
use of it for the present, by way of justification of their disloyalty: And
having so far publickly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle
any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the Pale into a po-
sture of War, and to make all such preparatives as might enable them
by the powerful assistance they had out of the North, presently to take
in Treilagh, and afterwards to march up to Dublin, and there make them-
selves Masters of that City and Castle: A work as now it stood repre-
sented unto them, not likely to prove less glorious than successful, and
easie to be achieved: They had for this end many publick meetings
among themselves, as also with the chief Commanders of the Northern
Rebels.

The Pro-
ceedings
held by
the Lords
and chief
Gentle-
men of the
English
Pale, after
they had
join'd
with the
Northern
Rebels.

In the first place, they declared the Lord Viscount Gormanston, General
of the Forces to be raised in the Pale, Hugh Birne, Lieutenant General:
The Earl of Fingale, General of the Horse: Then they gave power to those
Lords to nominate Captains in several Baronies to be respectively appoint-
ed out of them, and likewise to raise Soldiers in every such Barony, viz.
Eight Soldiers out of a Plow-land (which contains according to the an-
cient Estimation 120 Acres) and every Plow-land to maintain the
Soldiers to be set out by them: The Barony of Dulack was assigned to
the

1641. the Lord of *Gormanstone*; the Barony of *Screene* and *Desse*, to the Earl of *Fingale*; the Barony of *Slaine*, to the Lord of *Slaine*; the Barony of the *Navan*, to the Lord of *Trimblestone*; *Kells*, to the Lord *Dunsany*; *Ratogh* and *Dunboine*, to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickestown*, Baronet, and *Patrick Barnwell* of *Cilbrew*; and by these Persons, several Captains were appointed, and numbers of Soldiers raised according to the Orders set down at the general meeting: There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanstone*, whereby those Persons appointed to raise the Men, and to furnish them with Provisions for their Entertainment were required upon pain of Death to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other Persons who were appointed Overseers for the threshing out of all the Protestants Corn, which was assigned generally through the Pale to be applyed towards the maintenance of their Army. The next work was to make a constant Provision of all manner of necessaries for the Entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the Pale, and set down at the Siege of *Tredagh*. And for this Service they seised the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what proportions of Corn and numbers of Cattle should be brought down out of every part for the Victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company consisting of a hundred Men, for their daily allowance, one Bief, and half a Barrel of Corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country People to furnish their Army with these proportions; they made not only Prohibitions that no Corn should be carried to *Dublin*, but so blocked up the ways as the poor Churles that lived somewhat distant from the City, could not carry their Corn thither without apparent Danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great Want and Scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of People come from several parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for safety. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamation to be published, That all such as had Corn remaining within some few miles distance, should as their usual manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready Money for the same; in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their Corn as it stood in the Haggards, and so prevent the use the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the Victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well supplied all that Winter with Corn, the Country People though otherways very malicious against the *English* and Protestants, being content, tho' with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their Corn, where they sold it at a good rate for ready Money, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanstone* for the use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But

But while they continue their fruitless and unprofitable attempts there, 1641. having neither Skill, Courage, Experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous desires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I shall briefly represent a view of the sad estate of our affairs in *Dublin*: It was now almost full two Months since the breaking out of this Rebellion: the Lords Justices and Council out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the *Irish* through the Kingdom, did in the very beginning with much earnestness solícite the present sending over of Succours out of *England*: And as soon as they began to make a little further discovery into the strength of this Conspiracy, and found their own wants and utter Disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the universal Power of the whole Body of the *Irish*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almost all the *Old English* that were of the *Romish* Profession incorporated into their party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earnestness by their frequent Letters and several Agents, represent unto his Majesty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill, even desperate condition they were in; and therefore desired that supplies both of men, money, and all kind of warlike provisions, might be sent away with all speed unto them, declaring that unless they received them presently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to subsist as they stood now environed on all sides with multitudes of the Rebels, but had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole Kingdom: And because they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be so suddenly made nor the men so easily transported from thence into the North of *Ireland*, (where the Rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had by their most unparallel'd cruelty towards the *English* done most mischief) as out of *Scotland*, they made a proposition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move both his Majesty and the Parliament, that 10000 *Scots* might be presently raised and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness, representing the very great terrour the meer *Irish* had of that Nation, that their bodies would better sort with that Climate, endure more hardship, and with less distemper undergo the toils and miseries of an *Irish* War; that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it being not above three or four hours sail from some parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*; That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and so had all provisions necessary for the furnishing of their men for this expedition in readiness: And lastly, they having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own Countrymen so advantageously settled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorously prosecute the War with such sharpness, as might testify their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own Nation by that barbarous people. These

The sad condition of the publick affairs of the State.

The sending of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland* pressed by the Lords Justices & Council.

1641.

Commissioners sent out of Scotland to Treat with the Parliament of England concerning the relief of Ireland.

These Letters arrived very opportunely about the time of the King's return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then sitting at *Westminster*: And there being even then two *Scotish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the relief of *Ireland*; His Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal desired, that certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to Treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to His Majesty and both Houses. This motion was with very great readiness yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, nominated by the House of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Esq; Sir *William Ermin*, Baronet, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Knight, *John Hamden*, Esq; nominated by the House of Commons, should Treat with the *Scotish* Commissioners concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propositions presented to the Parliament of England, for the relief of Ireland.

In the propositions given in by the *Scotish* Commissioners, they did in the first place make offer of ten thousand men in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; And that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an advance of 30000 *l.* of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they sent into *Ireland*, might in the same proportions be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired that some Ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waite over their Soldiers which they designed to transport in small Vessels.

And then, that upon landing of their men in *Ireland*, there should be a 100 horse ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they should send thither: And that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the *Scotish* General.

These propositions being taken into consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high necessities of this Kingdom, that the *Scotts* had 2500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving *Ireland*, as by sending these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them; and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the sudden relief of *Ireland*; and it was now generally believed, that considerable Forces would be transported within a very short time out of *Scotland* for the defence of the Northern parts

parts of this Kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness 1641.
His Majesty in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14th of *December*, in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever his power, pains or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

But, alas, these great expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland*, strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of the *Irish* affairs. The Forces designed for *Ireland*, retarded.

For first, His Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them, by all that was dear to him or them, to go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for pressing Soldiers for *Ireland*, depending in the House of Peers, and declaring his dislike of putting it in that way, told them he would pass it, so there were a *salvo jure* put into it both for the King and People, but withal, told them that he thought himself little beholding unto him whosoever it was, that began this dispute so far trenching upon the bounds of his ancient and undoubted prerogative.

These Passages in his Majesty's Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons: And therefore His Majesty had no sooner ended his Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into consideration of the same, and resolved that the King by taking notice of the debate in their House of the Bill, concerning pressing of Soldiers, had broken the fundamental privileges of Parliament. And presently a Message was brought unto them likewise by Mr. *Hollis* from the House of Commons, to desire a Conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Privileges of Parliament: At the conference they fully expressed the deep sense they had of the high injury offered unto them, by His Majesty invading their Privileges; and proceeded so far as to come not only to petition His Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that Person who had given him information so unduly of what had passed in their House: but, also, to make a Protestation concerning their Privileges: This took up some time, and the great misunderstanding even which then began to appear betwixt His Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an influence into the business of *Ireland*, as notwithstanding the high necessities of this Kingdom, and the great affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden relief here, the resolutions were slow, and the preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the defence of

1641. the Castle and City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near approach of the Rebels.

The debate of the propositions presented by the *Scottish* Commissioners in the House of Peers,

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into the Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several Obstructions likewise. For first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there, to treat for the sending over a lesser number than ten thousand Men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this Obstacle was soon removed by the zealous Affections of the House of Commons, who, as soon as the Propositions brought in by the *Scottish* Commissioners for the relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their Assent to treat for the sending of the number of ten thousand Men out of *Scotland*, according to the Instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom; and sent up a Message to the House of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Kt. to lay before their Lordships, the miserable Estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know that the House of Commons conceived the best way for the preservation of it out of the hands of the Rebels, was speedily to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*; and therefore desired that they would join with them in the Propositions received from the *Scottish* Commissioners.

Upon the receipt of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed, that ten thousand *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend that at the same time there might ten thousand *English* Men be as speedily sent likewise thither; and thereupon desired a Conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully understand their Resolution therein, which being yielded unto by the House of Commons, the Lords at the Conference pressed with much earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of ten thousand *English* at the same time that the *Scots* were to be sent away: Whereunto the House of Commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal; that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations; that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their resolution to send that number of *English* into *Ireland*; and therefore desired that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of ten thousand *Scots* by itself without any relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the House of Peers, and was one main cause of the slow proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scottish* Commissioners. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a distance from whence these obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret workings underhand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was


very

very much retarded thereby, and was not brought on to any conclusion in many Months after. So as in the mean time, all the *British* planted throughout this Kingdom, were despoiled, driven out of their habitations, or most cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the *Irish* strengthened themselves in all parts of the Country, and prevailing every where, drew many to joyn with them, that had hitherto kept themselves in a kind of Neutrality, as supposing that the State here would be altogether deserted, and no Forces at all sent out of *England* for the suppressing of the *Irish* as had taken up Arms in this quarrel. 1641.

The whole Province of *Munster* about the midst of this Month of *December*, began to declare themselves in open Rebellion. The Lord President there had used his utmost endeavours to suppress their very beginnings, but by reason of his want of strength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all diligence and carefulness labour to prevent the joyning together of any numbers of the *Irish* in any of those parts: And when he understood how they began in some places of the Province to despoil the *English*, and that they had near *Waterford* gotten away many of the *English* mens Cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his Government, he thought it not fit longer to sit still, but gallantly pursued those Rebels in his own person, being accompanied only with his own Troop of horse, and some few Gentlemen of the Country, who joyned with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares; slew 200 of those Rebels, restored the cattle to the *English* that were owners of them, and took several prisoners whom he hanged for a greater terrour to all such as should adventure afterwards to follow their example: As soon as he had done this service, his Lordship retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor means to make any further prosecution: which the *Irish* well enough understood, and therefore drew together in several places of that Province; and tho' they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulster*, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or presently murder all the *English* among them; yet many horrid murders they committed, used several kinds of cruelty to many particular persons, and for all the rest that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, most miserably stripped them out of their cloaths; and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them in that lamentable posture to pass to *Cork*, *Toughball*, *Kinsale*, and other Ports there to embark their miserable Carcasses for *England*; where few arrived safely, and I am sure I may well say few, in respect of those multitudes who perished through want, cold and famine, before they could get to those Towns, or other ways died after their arrival in them, or were by storms at Sea cast away. And for the *English* who stood upon their guard and immured themselves up in several Castles of good strength in those parts, they endured many Months

The revolt of the *Irish* in the Province of *Munster*.

The misery suffered by the *English* in *Munster*.

1641.  siege, suffered much want and misery, and having bravely resisted all the assaults and attempts that the *Irish* made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places caused them to raise their sieges with great loss and slaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all hope or possibility of relief, enforced to deliver those places together with the multitudes of the *English* they had received, into the hands of the Rebels, upon fair quarter solemnly promised by them: And in many places no sooner had they by that means gotten entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the quarter given, despoiled them of that little remainder of their substance they had then left, and sent them away in great want and misery to find relief among other *English* Garrisons. But the whole Country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them, despoiled of all their substance, were become so miserable and poor, as that they were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, besides pity and compassion, which could not support or keep alive those languishing gastly Creatures, so as multitudes dyed, some in ditches, some travelling on the high-ways, some under hedges, and so left their Carcasses as fearful spectacles to the beholders, and sad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exercised on them by those bloody Rebels, who yet under pretence of mercy spared their lives, but took up a resolution as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingering death; and therefore left them in such a condition as inevitably brought on their miserable ends with much more discomfort and sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the beginning of the rising of the *Irish* in *Munster*; the particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down in the following Relations of their first proceedings within that Province, where it shall be declared likewise, how all the great Towns in *Leinster*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the same time begin to strip and expel all the *British* and Protestants, that either inhabited in them, or fled out of the Country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their *Irish* neighbours.

Dublin distressed.

As for the City of *Dublin*, it began now to be much more straitly encompassed by the Forces of the Rebels, much increased through their late conjunction with the *English* Pale. And in case of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches so near, and having so absolutely stopped up all the avenues, as we had great reason to apprehend their keeping back of provisions would drive the City into high necessities, and quickly occasion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys, which until this time, were continually sent up unto the Lords Justices and Council, while they remained in this posture, out of several Parts of the Country, where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of their

their habitations, had for their present safeguard put themselves into Houses or Castles of some strength; they there enduring much want and misery, made shift, though not without great difficulty, by several Messages and Letters to make known their condition to the State, as also that they were resolved, as many of them did, to suffer the utmost extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of succours from them. 1641.

But, Alas! all was in vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiseration of their sorrowful condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as with the greatest power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any ways five miles out of the City, their supplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raise men, but only within the verge of the City; and such as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Irish*, whereof many ran presently away with their Arms to the Rebels, or poor stripped *English*, and Inhabitants of this City, who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exercised and trained to the use of their Arms, proved very good Soldiers; yet for the present they were very unfit for service. As appeared in that little expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his men to *Finglas*, a little Town two miles distant from the City, at the same time, when Sir *Charles Coote* marched forth to beat *Luke Netterville* with his undisciplined Regiment out of his quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming saved him the labour, for he presently upon the rumour thereof, dislodged, and fled in so much haste, as he left some of his best equipage and all his provisions behind him: But that Party of Rebels Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themselves with good advantage behind great ditches, stood better to their work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new raised men began to shrink, and had not the Colonel and some other of his Officers behaved themselves very well that day, their men had made a most dangerous and shameful retreat. This was the greatest Expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time; which no man will wonder at, if he doth consider as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner surrounded on every side by several Parties of the Rebels gathered together; all commerce was interrupted, all provisions brought out of the Country for the supply of it intercepted, as also, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had transported themselves, their goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papists had upon other reasons retired themselves, and what belonged unto them, into the Country, and there taken up their habitations within the Rebels quarters; no manner of intercourse with any persons whatsoever that made their abode without the distance of two miles from any part of the City; no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the Rebels, all courses taken for it disappointed, several Messengers hanged

Some Forces sent out to encounter the Rebels who lodged within three miles of *Dublin*.

Dublin surrounded on every side by the Rebels.

1641. hanged up; and yet on the other side, all our designs disclosed, our weakness discovered, and the most private resolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The Parties of the Rebels that lay near about the City, were these following; *Lake Nesservile* being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near two thousand men at *Swords*, a Town six miles distant, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artaine*, and some other places within two miles of the City: On the West-side of the City, at *Tassagard*, *Rath-coole*, *Castle-Lyons*, and other little Villages within the compass of six miles, there lay two thousand more of the Rebels who were come down out of the Counties of *Catorlagh*, *King's County*, *Kildare*, and other parts under the Command of *Roger Moor*, and *Sutton*, *Eustace* of *Castle Martin*, and others. The *Chandonells*, *Birnet* and *Tooles*, were also come down in great numbers out of the County of *Wicklou*; and had lodged themselves in some Castles towards the Sea-side, and in some Villages at the Foot of the Mountain, not above three or four miles distant from the Town on the South-side: How desperately these Forces threatened our ruine and sudden destruction will appear by this ensuing Letter bearing date about the middle of *December*, written from the Lords Justices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his dispatch.

A LETTER from the Lords Justices and Council, to the Lord LIEUTENANT.

May it please your Lordship,

BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your Lordship, that Mr. *Hawtrige* was then newly arrived with the Treasure sent us from thence, which came but to sixteen thousand five hundred fourscore and ten pounds; a supply of Treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the Rebels, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, inasmuch as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all sides of it, and between *Drogheda* and this place, reaching even within four miles of this City, are upon very credible report, conceived to be above twenty thousand men, and besides those numbers who are so united between this and *Drogheda* and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over; for the meaner sort of people first rise generally, and then those of better quality follow after, and the fire which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in other parts; begins now

now to break out so generally, as the defection now appears to be universal throughout the whole four Provinces, so strangely rooted was the Combination, and that strengthened under the specious show of a War for Religion; for although before and since the Caution we had from your Lordship, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any apprehension to the *Irish*, that *England* doth intend to make it a War of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordship, the Rebels labour mainly to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far as they call themselves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many thousands to their party, and yet many joyed with them for no other reason than because they saw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred; they rightly judging, that without those Succours, we are not able to defend them our selves; and indeed until those Succours come, they must and will still increase; but if our men and arms were once arrived the very expectation of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some stop to the fury, with which they yet carry all before them, whithersoever they come.

They continue their rage and malignity against the *English* and Protestants, who if they leave their goods or cattle for more safety with any Papists, those are called out by the Rebels; and the Papists goods and cattle left behind; and now upon some new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a farther degree of cruelty, even of the highest nature, which is to proclaim, That if any *Irish* shall harbour or relieve any *English*, that he suffered to escape them with his life, that it shall be penal even to death to such *Irish*; and so they will be sure though they put not those *English* actually into the Swards, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the Sward; and they promise they will never give over until they leave not any seed of an *English* man in *Ireland*.

Nor is their malice towards the *English* expressed only so, but further even to the beasts of their fields, and improvements of their hands, for they destroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their reason is, because they are *English*; and great is their hatred, not only to the persons of the *English*, but also to every species of that Nation, and they destroy all improvements made by the *English*, and lay waste the habitations.

We formerly signified to your Lordship, that to take away all jealousy from the Papists of the *English* Rule, we should furnish them with some Arms, and the rather because we well know that in the last great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the *English* Rule stood firm to the Crown of *England*, and that the Rebel Tyrone in the height of his Power and Greatness,

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was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whilst he was in rebellion; and upon this occasion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep professions of their Loyalty to his Majesty, in imitation of their Ancestors, and with expressions seeming to abhor the Contrivers of this Rebellion here, against whom they offered their power and strength, so as they might have Arms; and we being well assured that if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our work; we did at their earnest suit issue for them Arms for one thousand seven hundred men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed Governours of the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies; but so many of those Companies revolted to the Rebels, and carried away their Arms with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty Arms; so as those whose loyalty we had reason to expect would help us, are now through their disloyalty turned against us, and are strengthened with our own Arms; and without all question, if those of the *English Pale* had done their parts as became good Subjects with their Arms they had from us, and those they might gather amongst themselves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* against the Rebels, but might also have prevented the ruin and destruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *English* and Protestants amongst them; for the Noblemen and Gentry sate still and looked on, whilst the *English* and Protestants were ruined before their faces; the Papists in the mean time remaining secure, without the loss of goods, or any thing else.

When we saw the power and strength of the Rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the *English* and Protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this City, in disdain and affront of this State; which are scorns of so high a nature, as we could not endure, if we had strength sufficient to repress their insolencies; and when we observed the retarding of our Succours of Men and Arms from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard so much as in view there, or in *Scotland*; and when we found apparently that for want of those supplies, we became in a manner so contemptible, as we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this City and Castle before our aids should come, we bethought us of all the means we could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the State of *England*, but that some supplies may yet come unto us. And therefore on the third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were nearest to us, and most of them being of the *English Pale*, to be with us here on the eighth

‘ eighth day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the Kingdom; and we hoped by their help, to handle the matter so as we might gain a few days time before our surprisal here, by which time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the Rebels, that we shall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and to strike terror and discouragement into the well-affected, amongst whom there are many so weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom. 1641.

‘ On the eighth day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viscount *Fitz-Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Houth* came unto us, but the rest of the Noblemen not coming deferred our conference, and on the eleventh day of this Month we received Letters from seven of them, namely, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstone*, the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimblestone*, *Dunsany* and *Lowth*, dated the seventh day of this Month, and signed by them, pretending a fear of a Massacre on those of their Religion, and that therefore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to stand upon their guard; and how that resolution of theirs may stand with the loyalty they profess, we humbly submit to his Majesty’s excellent Judgment, for whose Royal view we send you here inclosed, a Copy of their said Letters.

‘ When we received those Letters, we did admire whence the fears of coming to us should arise; but afterwards we heard that they had been in consultation with the Rebels, which also as to most of them is confirmed by the enclosed Examination of *Christopher Hampton*, and indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own guilts begot in them the fear they pretend; and they spare not though unjustly to charge us with a neglect of their advices; whereas not one of them to this House offered to us any advice or real assistance towards Pacification of these troubles.

‘ It became then publick (nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others) that those Noblemen so fawned with the Rebels as they now stood on their guard; we therefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the State from the Aspersions which we found so publicly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the inclosed Proclamation, as well to satisfy to the World as those Noblemen, who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts, that we never intended to Massacre them or any other; that being a thing which we and all good Protestants do much abhor, whatever the practice of their religion is, and hath been found to be by woful experience in other parts, whereof we confess we are now in great danger, if our long expected
Y Succ.

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‘ Succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the Rebels have already exercised towards those of our Nation and Religion, who fell into their hands, what we for our parts may expect from them; but the dishonour and shame which may reflect upon the *English* Nation by exposing this State and Kingdom to so apparent ruine, and with it the extirpation of God’s true Religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those Succours.

‘ We lately received Letters from the Lady *Ofaly*, and a Letter containing most insolent Menaces, inclosed therein, sent her from the Rebels, to which she sent them a noble Answer, Copies whereof we send here inclosed.

‘ One of the Rebels styling himself Chaplain Major and Overseer of the Coasts and Harbours, lately sent a Summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was entrusted to keep the Island of *Lambay*, requiring the delivery up of that Island to the Rebels, which being done, he gave *Leech* a Pass, wherein he styles the Rebels Forces the Catholick Army: A Copy of which Summons and Pass we send your Lordship here inclosed; and *Leech* told us that that mighty Chaplain declared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this Rebellion. That he had spent in Travel and Prosecution of that design beyond Seas four thousand pound; and that all the Kings in Christendom, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have hands in this business.

‘ A Castle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *English*, who stood out a while against the Rebels, being in the end through want of victuals necessitated to be rendred up to them, upon promise of quarter, a Popish Priest standing with his Skean in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a Minister then among the *English*, did by thrusting that Skean into the Minister’s Guts, and ripping up his Belly give that as a Signal to the Rebels, for falling upon the rest of the *English*, which they did accordingly, as soon as the Minister was murdered, killing some and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

‘ On the ninth of this Month, we received advertisement, that great numbers of men were gathered together in Warlike manner at *Swords* in the County of *Dublin* within six miles of us, they having the Army of the Rebels behind them on this side *Drogheda*; whereupon we then immediately sent out our Warrant, commanding them to disperse: A Copy whereof we send your Lordship here inclosed; which was not obeyed; but a Letter sent us from *Lake Netterville* Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and others of them: A Copy whereof we likewise send here inclosed; Whereupon we published the inclosed Manifest, for vindicating

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‘ vindicating this State from their Aspersions also : And it is observable, that those Gentlemen at *Swords* could even on that very *Tuesday* night, wherein they alledge they were so affrighted at their Houses, assemble twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the State, whereas for many days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whilst some of them openly declared Rebels, and many of their neighbours, who doubtless hold under-hand intelligence with the Rebels, robbed and spoiled the *English* on all parts round about them ; and yet those Gentlemen could not in all that time be either so affrighted by the Rebels, or so compassionate of their poor *English* neighbours, as to assemble any men for the defence of themselves, or those their poor *English* neighbours ; and certainly those Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State who have always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the Forces of the Rebels which lie so near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of His Majesty’s good and innocent Subjects, and for ought they know (if there were not secret intelligence between them) might have used them also in like manner.

‘ But the Truth is, we conceive those Gentlemen had a mind to joyn with the Rebels, and do now take up pretences to cover their disloyalty, and cast scandal on this Government.

‘ The Rebels in the *Pale* as in other parts, have caused Masses to be said openly in the Churches, expelled the Ministers from Officiating in their Churches, and forced divers persons for saving their lives and goods to become Papists, openly professing that no Protestant shall be suffered to live in *Ireland*, and whilst they insult thus over all the *English* and Protestants, destroying them for no other reason, but for that they are Protestants and *English*, we let fall nothing against them touching Religion, and yet they feign things against us, tending that way to give some colour to their cruel proceedings.

‘ The Rebels of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare* in the County of *Kildare*. The Rebels of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, and *Ashboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other places ; The Rebels of the County of *Dublin* have possessed *Swords* and *Rathcoole*, and spoiled all the *English* and Protestants even to the Gates of *Dublin*, and now about fifteen hundred of the Rebels of *Wicklow* are in and about *Powercourt*, and about ten miles from this City ; there are also between this and the *Naas* within six or seven miles of us a thousand of the Rebels of *Kildare*, and the borders of *Wicklow* and *Dublin*, so as we are in this City invironed by them on all sides by Land, and they begin to stop access to us by Sea ; for the Fishermen on the Sea-Coasts being all

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‘ *Irish* and Papiſts Inhabitants in the *Pale*, brake out alſo into Rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, ſpoiled and pillaged even within the Bay of *Dublin* ſeveral Barks. coming hither forth of *England*. And if to revenge this villany on the Fiſhermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, ſo near us, we ſend forth a Party of Soldiers to burn and ſpoil thoſe Rebels Houſes and Corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take new offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no dalliance with them, who ſo far declare themſelves againſt the State, not caring what ſcorns are put upon the Government, wherein is obſervable, that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of thoſe Gentlemen. riſen in Arms at *Swords*.

‘ Your Lordſhip now ſees not only the neceſſity of haſtening with all poſſible ſpeed our Succours of Men and Arms both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater numbers than thoſe at firſt deſigned, ſeeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at firſt was conceived; and yet ſo as ſuch of them as are ready be not forced to ſtay for the reſt, but that thoſe may be ſo ordered as to come after, for no fleſh can imagine, unleſs they ſaw it as we do, the greatneſs of our danger, who are but a handful in compariſon of the multitudes riſen againſt us: And we deſire that the ten thouſand deſigned to come from *Scotland*, may be wholly ſent away, as well the five thouſand intended to be left there in a readineſs as the reſt, with direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and whereſoever they land to march to *Dublin* if poſſibly they can; and to ſend away with all ſpeed the Ships appointed for guarding theſe Coaſts, is alſo very neceſſary to be haſtened; and that two or three Ships of good ſtrength follow after: doubtleſs theſe Rebels expect a very great ſupply of Arms and Munition from foreign Parts either *Spain* or *France*.

‘ And although out of the fore-ſight we had of this extremity ſince theſe troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in ſome proviſions of victual and corn, yet we have not been able to provide our ſelves ſufficiently to ſtand out any long ſiege, nor can we now get in any more, our Markets being almoſt taken away, and the ſtrength of the Rebels ſurrounding us ſo as we can fetch in no more Proviſions; wherefore we beſeech your Lordſhip that the Magazines of Victuals deſigned to be ſettled on that ſide, may be ſettled with all ſpeed, if it be not done already, whereby we and the Succours we expect, may not be in diſtreſs of Victuals for our ſelves or them, or Oats for our Horſes. Our want of Victuals is the more in reſpect of the daily accels of the *Engliſh* ſpoiled in the Country.

‘ The necessity of the defence of the Province of *Munster*, required the immediate raising of a Regiment of Foot consisting of one thousand Men, and two Troops of Horse of threescore each Troop, which threescore we appointed the Lord President to raise, and for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise, seeing we cannot do it, that Money and Arms be sent from thence to *Youghall*, with a further supply of Arms and Munition for the Stores in that Province now much wanting there.

‘ And as the Rebels which have beset us and this City on all sides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already: So they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two cut off the watercourse, which brings Water to this City and Castle; and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs and besiege our Walls; which we confess we yet want Strength to defend, and must wait till our Supplies come forth of *England* or *Scotland* or both; for here we have but about three thousand Men, the rest of the old Companies being dispersed in several needful Garrisons in the Country (excepting seven Companies of them surprised, and cut off by the Rebels at their first rising in *Ulster* and other Parts) and about two hundred Horse by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Irish*: so as considering the spaciousness of this City and Suburbs to be defended, the smallness of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of Papists Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and lastly, the very great numbers of the Rebels, who are so strong as to approach this City with many thousands, and yet leave many thousands also at the siege of *Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any long time against them, without the Arrival of our expected Succours.

‘ The Earl of *Castlehaven* on the tenth of this Month, presented at this Board the inclosed Oath tendered unto him by the Rebels to be sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear, and we hear they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

‘ We did lately in hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, listen to an offer made, by some Popish Priests to go to the Rebels and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed. But since we find there is little hope of it, for some of the Priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

‘ However it is fit your Lordship should know what we do; we must now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that things being risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the Government, but the loss of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of Men, Arms, and more Treas-
‘ sure

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sure, are of great necessity to be hastened away hither; so it is also needful that we enjoy your Lordship's presence here, for the conduct in your own person of the great and important affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great imminent danger, wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his Majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your Lordship; but we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may besit the Greatness of the King our Master to send with his Lieutenant against so numerous enemies as these Rebels are become, as well for the Honour of his Majesty, as for the terrour of those Rebels.

By what we have heretofore and now humbly represented to your Lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the publick danger wherein this Kingdom now stands, and particularly this City and Castle, the principal piece thereof, that if those be lost (which we now again assure your Lordship, were never in so great peril to be lost since the first Conquest of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole Kingdom must quickly follow; that the danger which must thereupon arise to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many respects. There is no possibility to prevent those evils with honour and safety to *England*, but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both; and that if those Succours come not speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom must be lost.

And if notwithstanding all this, so often and truly made known by us to your Lordship, we shall perish for want of Supplies, we shall carry this comfort with us to our graves or any other burial we shall have, that your Lordship can witness for us to the Royal Majesty, and to all the World, that we have discharged our duties to God, to his Majesty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly representing to his Majesty by your Lordship, the chief Governour of the Kingdom, the extremities and dangers wherein his Kingdom and people stand, and the necessity of hastning Supplies hither, by all possible means for preservation of both; so as whatever become of our persons, our memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the King our Master, as to forbear representing thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have the credit to be believed or no; and that we write Truth, and most needful Truth, will be found true, when perhaps we shall perish; and which is more considerable, the Kingdom

' Kingdom also for want of being relieved and succoured in time. And 1641.
' so we remain,

Your Lordship's to be commanded,

William Parsons,

John Borlacy,

Ormonde Ossory,

Robert Dillon,

Char. Lambert.

Adam Loftus,

John Temple,

Charles Coot.

Francis Willoughby.

Rob. Meredith.

From his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, 14 December, 1641.

POSTSCRIPT.

BY our Letters to your Lordship of the 22d of November, We did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once prorogued, may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they sit, or whether it be of necessity that they must sit again, and the Parliament to be prorogued the House sitting. And now that this Rebellion hath overspread the whole Kingdom, and that many members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot sit; We humbly desire to know his Majesty's pleasure therein, and if his Majesty shall think fit to prorogue it, which at present we hold expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for Prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time, cannot be with safety.

Our Letters of the third of December, have been hitherto withheld on this side by contrary Winds.

In this most miserable condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might assuage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure; and their own dangers so multiplied, as they were enforced to spend their time almost
in

1641. in a perpetual consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the night by sudden advertisements, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatened on every side, so as what through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the ruin and destruction of all the *British* and Protestants throughout all other parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away by special order of Parliament with his Regiment for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last of *December*, 1641. to the great joy and comfort of all his Majesty's Protestants, and well affected Subjects, and to the terrour of those Rebels now in Arms, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the suppressing of their notorious Rebellion.

The arrival of Sir *Simon Harcourt* with Forces out of *England*.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four Months, and then to have added a brief account of all such particular passages as have been acted during the space of those six Months within all the several Counties of this Kingdom, and so having recollected and presented as it were at one view the publick calamities and miserable desolations of all the four Provinces there, to have sat down and made the first period of this Story.

But I must here take up, being unexpectedly called away; I resolve therefore patiently to attend the restoring of this Kingdom and the resettlement of our Affairs; and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by some more skilful hand, I shall hope to get the rest of my tailing together, and make such further provision of all other materials as may enable me to go through with the same.

In the mean time it will not be amiss to take Notice, that the Rebels within very few Months after their first breaking out, had so ordered their affairs, as that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping, and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the Inland Counties of all the *British* Inhabitants: And except some few Castles and other places of strength which they held severally besieged, and had most of them suddenly after surrendered for want of relief, they had in a manner made themselves absolute Masters in all those parts of the Kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only some of the chief Cities which were held out against them, besides some few other forts and places of no great importance: As in the Province of *Leinster*, the City of *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munster*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghall*, and *Kinsale*; in *Ulster*, *London-Derry*, *Colraime* and *Caregfergus*: And all these they held either besieged, much distressed,

distressed, or they were otherways so over-pestred with the multitudes of 1641. poor stripped people fled to them for safety, as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness would within a short time inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this Land, and for their sins to give them up into the power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their Victories: And upon the prosperity of their undertakings and late success, they were become so confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the *British* and Protestants out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to set down a certain form of Government, nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what Statutes newly enacted: And in the mean time they erected a Council, which they stiled the Supreme Council, which they invested with absolute Power and Authority to order and govern the whole Kingdom.

This consisted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Physician, who being elected unto this charge, had the place of their residence appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Leinster*, where they sat ordinarily for the dispatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their State: They there erected several Courts of Judicature, they made a new broad Seal, appointed several great Officers of State, coined money, settled an excise upon all kind of commodities, and performed many other acts of Regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering these their great affairs, what Councils they took, what means they used to enable themselves to make opposition against the Forces sent over by the Parliament of *England* into all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, I shall here forbear to speak of. These particulars must be reserved for the ensuing part of this Story, where they will most properly fall in to be related: And where likewise, we shall find so strange a turn, such a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fear, their Councils infatuated, their designs blasted, their Forces routed, their sieges raised, such a general de-failance and inprosperity in all their undertakings, as we must needs give glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that God hath most wonderfully wrought for the deliverance of the poor small remnant of his people, which were here shut up and designed to the slaughter.

For after a considerable number of Horse as well as Foot sent over by the Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in some petty encounters thereabouts tried the metal of the Rebels, and found their spirits of a poor and base alloy, they began extremely to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous reports of their great

1641. strength or numbers, which with much advantage they had long made use of: Therefore now they began to seek them out in all places, and where-soever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with small numbers very often against great multitudes of them, sparing not many times to pursue them into the midst of their greatest fastnesses, and made the very Bogs and Woods unsafe receptacles for their broken Troops. And with so great success was the War prosecuted by the *English* from the first landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty of that most unhappy Cessation concluded in *Sept.* 1643. as that in all the Encounters they had with the Rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the Kingdom: And so they carried on their work before them without any assistance either from the meer *Irish* or the *English-Irish*: For I cannot myself remember any Gentleman of Quality throughout the whole Kingdom that was there born and bred up a *Papist*, that put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the *English* Army. It is true, some of the common Soldiers there, were of the *English-Irish* that came in; and though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service, and still with much fury and sharpness followed on upon the Execution.

F I N I S.



A
L E T T E R
O F
Sir *Henry Tichborne*
T O H I S
L A D Y,
O F T H E
Siege of *Tredagh* ;
A N D
Other Passages of the W A R S of *Ireland*,
where he Commanded.



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A

LETTER

O F

Sir Henry Tichborne,

To his Lady of the Siege of *Tredagh*; and other
 Passages of the Wars of *IRELAND* where he
 Commanded.

My Dearly Beloved,

IT is not Fame, Report, nor Testimony of others, but your own Eyes have seen and beheld the Wonderful Mercies of God, and in your self experimented many Deliverances from Violence, Death, and Famine: Neither need I put you in mind, or exhort you to a Daily Thankful Commemoration of these Blessings; for I know your Piety, continual Practice, and Sincerity of Heart, are full and perfect Motives to lead you unto it. Yet not knowing whether I may have time to Breath my last Desires and Affections in your Ears, I have left this Paper as a Witness of them, wherein I exhort you to bear all Crosses and Calamities that may befall you with Prudence, constancy of Mind, and a religious Respect, remembering that there is nothing befalls us, but that which is predisposed by the Almighty Maker of all Things, and that to our everlasting Good and Glory, if we make a right use and benefit of it. Be not sparing of God's blessings to communicate with the Needy, when God gives them; for *with such sacrifices God is well pleased*; and you will find that the Oyl in the

1641. the *Cruise*, and the *Meal* in the *Barrel*, will not be wasted until these Days of Calamity are passed over, and that God hath restored you to your former Plenty. There is much due unto me, and peradventure you and your Children may live in calmer and more prosperous Seasons to partake of it. My Papers I have left with you, and because you cannot remember, nor are Privy to every Circumstance, that may plead for some Regard towards you, in relation to my Carriage and the Discharge of my Duty, in the various Occurrences of these late Years; I shall in these ensuing Lines set you down many of those Things, wherein God hath blessed me with wonderful Deliverance, and used my Weakness as an Instrument to manifest his mighty Power.

The 23d of *October*, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at *Donsoghly* within four Miles of *Dublin*, and upon the general Terrour which was in the Country, when all *English* and Protestants forsook their Habitations, and fled from the Face of that horrid Rebellion, I thought it not safe to remain alone behind them, but when, in the Evening of the next Day, I had scattered a Party of Rogues that lay lurking about my House, I retired with you and my Family the same Night to *Dublin*. The Day following the Lord Justices and Council sent for me before them, and after some Debate of the Condition of the Time, and the quickest Way to prevent the growing Danger, it was concluded by the Board, that I should forthwith raise a Regiment of One Thousand Soldiers, and march with all Expedition unto *Drogheda*; daily News of Danger and eminent Peril arriving from thence, with the suspected Faith of the Inhabitants. *October* 26 early in the Morning, I began my Levy, and using great Diligence, with continual Pains and Travel, I completed, armed, and led my Regiment to *Drogheda* within the space of Nine Days, where I enter'd very seasonably the fourth of *November*.

At *Drogheda* I met many strange Reports of the Rebels Number and Advance, and these Reports were daily strengthened with false Intelligence by some that were employ'd in the Service, being in Truth no other than Rebels in their Hearts and Affections, as afterward plainly appear'd by their flying from our Party, and siding with the Rebels: Others that were new come, and Strangers in these Parts, though trusty, could make no full Discovery of the Rebels Strength, Approach, or Intention. Twice upon Intelligence I sent and went forth with a convenient Party to fall on a Quarter of the Rebels, but found my self deluded; and to have left the Town with the whole Forces (as I conceive was the Aim of my Intelligencers) had been in a sort to put it into the Rebels Hands, the malignant Party being strong and powerful in it, and discovering themselves and their ill Intentions daily more and more; which when I had advertised to *Dublin*, the Lords Justices appointed Six hundred new levied Men to

come

come from thence, who setting forth about the same time when the *Northern* Rebels drew near unto *Drogheda*, through some Miscarriage on the Way, though they had seasonable Notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the Rebels, totally routed, and most of them lost.

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This Disaster befalling us, the Rebels believed themselves Masters of the whole Country, and our Bosom Enemies did no longer disguise themselves, for the whole Pale that seem'd to waver, and in a sort to detest the Rebellion, declared for them, and immediately joyned with the *Northern* Rebels; whereupon ensued the Siege of *Drogheda*, which had not continued long, when I viewing the Provision of Victual and the Grain within the Walls, I easily observed that in a short time we should be distressed for want of Provisions; and perceiving there was a pretty Quantity of Corn in Stack at *Greenhills*, about half a Mile without the East-Gate, and that the Rebels were quartered a Mile from it; on a Morning betimes I caused Carriages to be prepared, drew the whole Garrison into Arms, and disposing two hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse unto the Conduct of Serjeant Major *Lovell*, with Instruction to issue forth at one Gate; I took the like number of Horse and Foot, and went suddenly forth at the Gate that led directly unto the Place; and before I was advanced a little above half way I met an *Irish* Woman that lived without the Walls, who told me, that part of the *Irish* Army, at least three thousand were marching toward me, a thing I little credited, because I had sent forth Scouts, and a Lieutenant of Foot with thirty Musketeers to possess a Ground of Advantage before me. But I was little farther advanc'd, when the Scouts return'd full of Fear, and the Lieutenant with his Musketeers in great Amazement, blowing, sweating, and imprudently, before he came close unto me, declared in the Audience of all the Soldiers, that there were at least four thousand of the Enemy hard at hand, and that we were in danger to be enclosed of them coming several Ways. 'Nothing is more dangerous than Reports of this Nature, in the hearing of the Soldiers, which of what Condition soever, should always be privately delivered to the Commander. And thus far I did experiment it at this time, that the Lieutenant's timorous Report, drove some, both Horse and Foot, to forsake me; and seek their Safety within the Walls, and had almost wrought a general Terror. But I told them, considering the Ground, we were strong enough to oppose ten thousand; and that they ought not to be dismayed, for the Lieutenant surpriz'd with Fear had augmented the Enemies Number, and blinded him so much, that he could not distinguish between the Enemy and our own Forces, those being no other than our own whom he saw coming behind us another Way, and were appointed by me to be our Seconds.' With much ado, this Perswasion re-assur'd the Soldiers, and caused them to stand; and for the more safety I sent into the Town for some Troops I had left in Arms

1641. Arms on the Market Place: But before the Soldiers were confirm'd, and fully prepar'd to oppose the Rebels, they came upon us with a great Shout, and gave Fire: At the second Firing our Men answered them in the like kind; and in the midst of the Smoak, I call'd out aloud, *They run, They run*; which took the desired effect, was believed by those in the Rear, and seconded by them all with the like Cry: And though it appeared something otherwise upon the clearing up of the Smoak, and after a Charge, that the Rebels gave thick Fire out of an Ambush, yet our Musketeers on the higher Bank set bravely forward, when they saw me alighted from my Horse to partake in such Adventure as should befall them; and the Rebels, who were staggered with the former Cry, betook themselves to their Heels in general. Our Men had the Execution of them about three Quarters of a Mile, the rest of their Army looking on us at a Distance, as they were drawing together to make resistance: And when I perceived all the Rebels in Arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and saw all the Soldiers in safety within the Gates before me. Of the Rebels there were about two hundred slain, a Priest and three Captains, and one of the O'-Neals that was Serjeant-Major General of their *Northern Army*: Of our Men four only hurt, and two Horses shot in this Service; for God fought for us, and from this time forth so dismayed the Rebels, that afterwards they never stood before us.


On St. Thomas's Eve, at One of the Clock at Night, the Rebels came to assault the Town, and fell on with a great Shout; but we were prepar'd for them, and gave them such Entertainment as belonged to unwelcome Guests, whereby they lost many, and toward the Morning withdrew to their Quarters. On *New-year's Day*, early in the Morning, I sent forth a Party which kill'd some of the Rebels, burnt their Quarter, and retreated with the loss of but one Man.

The 7th of *January*, a little before Day, I drew forth three Troops, consisting of eighty good Horse or thereabouts, with three hundred choice Foot, in two Bodies, and a Forlorn of fifty Musketeers to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Ramullan* without St. John's Port; where, after a little Resistance, their Barricadoes and Breast-works were forced, their Quarter enter'd, an hundred of them at the least slain upon the Place, many driven by Heaps into the River and drowned, and amongst those one *Art Roe Mac Mahon*, a prime Man, and much lamented by them; And whilst we were in pursuit, and firing the Quarter, a full Body of the Rebels (the Day being now broken) appeared from *Platten* and other Places, marching towards us; these I thought fit to meet and charge with my reserve, whilst the Soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former Chace, and by God's Singular Blessing (to whose glorious working all these Actions are to be wholly ascribed) we suddenly routed them, and
kill'd

kill'd above forty on the Place, not adventuring to pursue them far, because the Rebels were numerous, and gotten into Arms throughout all their Quarters. The Soldiers brought off many Muskets and Corsets, a few Cows, and some other Plunder. 1641.

The Rebels failing of other Hopes, labour'd to stop the Channel, and hinder our relief by Water; but God disappointed them, and opened the Way unto us, for the 11th of *January*, our Shipping came from the *Skerries* in one Tide to the Key; a rare matter, and hardly known in the memory of Man. That Night I exhorted the Officers to be very vigilant on their Guards, because the Rebels might conceive us joyful and secure upon our received relief; and I could not go that Night abroad according to my custom, in regard I had several Dispatches to make to *Dublin*; and the Shipping were the next Day to return in case the Wind favour'd them, which I would in no sort be a hindrance unto. How my orders were observed or neglected I will not mention, but about four of the Clock the next Morning, as I was busily writing, I heard three Muskets go off, and soon after two others; and, as I apprehended, (notwithstanding the stormy Weather) a kind of muttering Noise; whereupon I started from the Table, snatch'd up my Pistols, and call'd to those about me to follow me with speed, for I believ'd that the Rebels were gotten into the Town: And coming forth of Doors, I called unto a Court of Guard that was on the Town Wall near my Lodging, and willed them to increase the Alarm, and give Fire athwart the River, because I believed the Rebels to be enter'd on that side the Key; and then running with all speed towards the Bridge, when I was about half way, the Rebels gave a great Shout. At the foot of the Bridge I found a Guard of my own Company settling themselves to their Arms; those I drew forth, and placed to maintain the Bridge until I should instantly return unto them: And then making haste to the Main-Guard, I found not there that Vigilancy I expected; but encreasing the Alarm, with such small Strength as I could suddenly gather, I return'd and found my Ensign newly engag'd with the Rebels at the end of the Bridge; him I relieved, and God prosper'd us so well, with the Concourse of Officers and Soldiers, that finally we scattered them, and had the killing of many, and took above fifty Prisoners. God's Workings are wonderful, and oftentimes, especially in Matters of War, produces great Effects out of small and contemptible Means: This Night my Man following of me hastily with my Horse out of my Lodging, the Horse being unruly at the best, suddenly broke loose, and made such a Noise in running and galloping madly upon the Stones in the dark Streets, it put the Rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepar'd to welcome them than in Truth we were, and thereby afforded us something the more leisure to entertain them, as by God's Blessing we did.

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 The 7th of *February* I made a Sally on the *North*-side of the Town, fir'd two or three of their Lodgings, and recovered a little Forage and Provision to refresh us a few Days: The Rebels drew forth from *Bewly* their Head Quarters, with a Body of five hundred or thereabouts, but upon my Advance with the like number, and Skirmishing with them in their fastness, they retreated with a little Loss, which greatly embolden'd our Soldiers for future Services, who received no loss at all. That Night I sent forth a Party of Musketeers to fall on a Court of Guard of the Rebels, which they effected with the slaughter of the Centinels and some others. *February* the 11th in the afternoon, upon Intelligence that the Rebels had removed from one of their Quarters, and left it void for the Lodging of others that were to arrive that Day out of the *North*, I thought it a fit Opportunity to issue suddenly out of the Town, with intent to recover part of their Provisions, and to fire the rest, that could not be brought away, together with their Quarter; and to that end, I drew forth a Party of five hundred to Confront the Rebels Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and sent Lieutenant *Greenham*, a Resolute Commander, with sixty Musketeers, and thirty Horse under the Conduct of Cornet *Constable*, to Guard those that were directed to spoil the Quarter; who coming thither, and finding the Place empty, some of the Foot, at least twenty, with part of the Horse, lading themselves with Sheaves of Corn, and such other Things as they met with, returned homewards; when suddenly there appeared before the remainder of the Horse and Foot a Body of four hundred Rebels, come forth of the *North* to possess that Quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themselves into good Order. About that Instant I had with seven or eight Horse in my Company left the Body of five hundred confronting *Bewly*, and being on my way towards them, I received the News of the Rebels approach: Forthwith I sent Direction for One hundred and fifty Soldiers to be drawn quietly out of the Body, and to follow me. The Advertisement of this being deliver'd to Lieutenant *Greenham*, with my Approach, I being then come in sight of him, caus'd him without delay to fall on the Rebels; and I commanded Cornet *Constable* to do the like with the Horse, keeping by me a Reserve of ten Horse to second him, if Occasion were: For things being come to that Pinch, admitted no Debate, but a speedy Hazard. The Rebels terrify'd and amaz'd with this sudden and unexpected Assault, were soon routed by this Party alone, before the others I had appointed for their assistance were come up to them. There were slain of the Rebels seventy three, with Captain *Owen*, a Follower of the Earl of *Tyrone* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, a Lieutenant and an Ensign. There were taken two Colours, one Ensign, three Serjeants, nine Prisoners. One of them that appeared a Man of Note, died the same Night of his Wounds.

Two Days after (for now we were ever in Action) upon Notice of a Prey that might with some Hazard be probably gained, I sent forth Captain *Patrick Trevor* on *Sunday* Morning, a little before Day, and marched after him my self with another Party, to relieve and bring him off as Occasion should serve: He behaved himself so well, that he took the Prey of Eighty Cows and about two hundred Sheep; and though the Rebels on both Hands bestowed many Shot and Shouts upon us, yet we receiv'd no loss or considerable Hurt, but came in Time to serve and praise God in the Congregation that Morning. 1641.

On *Sunday* the 21st of *February*, about Four of the Clock in the Morning, Sir *Phelim O Neal* attempted the Town with Scaling Ladders, and had raised several against the Wall with much Silence, hoping to make his Entry on the back of my Lodging, where the Wall was lowest: But the Centinel discerning One of them mounted on the Top of the Ladder, ready to surprize him, knockt him down with the Butt-end of his Musket, and called out to the Coult of Guard, who issuing suddenly forth, easily repelled the rest, insomuch that they left Thirteen of their Scaling Ladders behind them; and being well ply'd with Shot from the Walls, divers were hurt and slain, as a Boy reported who was Drummer to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and had made his Escape from him that Morning. About Noon the same Day, we received another Relief of Men and Victuals that arrived wonderfully in one Tide, as the former had done, by God's singular Providence.

The 27th of *February*, desirous to repair a small Loss, I had received of Boys and Women that went a Foraging to *Bewbeck*, I issued forth to the same Place with two new Companies lately come from *Dublin*, Fifty Musketeers of the old Garrison, and One Hundred and Twenty Horse in Four Troops; and possess'd the same Ground where the Party stood that I had sent forth eight Days before, for the Guard of the Foragers: And after I had directed the Foragers that went with me, how to demean themselves on the Rebels Approach, and appointed the Pioneers to bury the Dead, I spent much of the Day there before the Corn was brought quite away into the Town. The Rebels drew forth into a Body of five or six hundred, under five Colours, right against me, at a pretty Distance; and another Body of two or three hundred on my right Hand, keeping the same Distance: Whole Motion, when I had long attended in vain, and the Evening growing fast, I turned on my Left Hand towards the Way that led to *Dublin*, where the Rebels held an usual Guard, and which I intended to visit; but my Scouts were sent forth on all Sides to observe the Rebels Motion. I had not marched much more than a Musket Shot when my Scouts came posting in, and assur'd me, that the Rebels were advancing toward me in great haste, and that there was but

1641. the Ridge of an Hill between them and us: I presently order'd my Men, as I conceived, for the best Advantage; sent immediately into the Town for seconds, if need should require; and because most of my Foot were New-comers, I told them briefly as the shortness of the Time would give me Leave, that I was glad of this Occasion, wherein they that were lately come should have the Experience of such Adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and, by God's continual blessing us, beaten the Rebels on greater Disadvantages than now appeared. I besought them only to be courageous; for if there were a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it) to draw them from the Trial in Safety, than expose them to imminent Danger. The Soldiers gave a chearful Answer of Resolution and Readiness to meet the Rebels, and march'd fiercely towards them; which taken Notice of by the Rebels, by such time as we were gotten to the Ridge of the Hill, they were sunk down again almost to the Foot of it, where were many Rows of great Furze fit to cover an Ambush, and at first I apprehended that might be their Purpose of Retreat, to draw me into unexpected Danger: But when I had beheld them a little while, and observed their Motion, and discerned them in some Disorder, and that their Officers were beating them with their Swords to force them forwards, I found the Time fit for my Purpose, and called to hasten the Charge, for the Rebels were dismayed, and running before we came at them: And to make my Words good, they made few Shot before they totally disbanded, and every Man shifted for himself. I caused a Party of Horse to meet them at the Bridge of *Gillianstown*, near the Place where our Six Hundred Men, sent at first to assist us, were unhappily defeated; and there, in the same Field and about it, Three Hundred and upward of the Rebels were slain, and Two Colours taken.

The first of *March*, I sent forth Sir *John Borlace* with four Companies of Foot, and one Troop of Horse, to forage the *South-Side* of the River towards *Colpe*, from whence a good quantity of Corn was brought into the Garrison: And in the Afternoon I took two other Companies of Foot and a Troop of Horse, accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*; and as we were advancing something farther toward the *Inche*, there came a Messenger hastily unto me, and told me, that Sir *John Borlace* met with some Resistance at *Colpe*, at an old Tower, which he attempted to take; and that many of the Rebels were come from the *North-Side* of the River in a Ferry-Boat, and enter'd into *Stamine*, whereby it was suppos'd they would attempt something against those that were before *Colpe*. On this Advertisement my Lord *Moore* and my self returned, and finding no Appearance of the Rebels Intention to do any thing, the Evening being come on, I prepared to march home: And leaving the Lord *Moore*, I went

I went towards Sir *John Borlace* before *Colpe*, where by the Way I was 1641.
 advertis'd that the Rebels were sally'd out of *Stamine* with two hundred
 Foot, to surprize those before *Colpe*; I instantly directed Captain *Billingly*
 to take Eighty Musketeers, and fall up to the Side of the Way, where
 there was the Advantage of a Ditch; and with such Horse as were with
 me, I made directly to an opener Place, though somewhat about; and by
 that Time I came in Sight of the Rebels, Captain *Billingly* and they
 were exchanging some Shot; but upon the Approach of the Horse com-
 ing on with a round Charge, the Rebels fled again into *Stamine*, and by
 the Way there was slain of them a Lieutenant, thirteen Soldiers, and a
 Captain of the *O Neals* wounded and taken Prisoner; and if my Horse
 had not been bog'd with some others, being ignorant of the Ways, I
 believe many more had been slain, and the Place taken the same Night,
 with many of their Commanders in it, who stole away before the next
 Morning to the other side of the River with Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who dur-
 ing the Conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a Furze-bush, as I was
 afterwards inform'd: And thus the South-side of the River was whol-
 ly clear'd of the Rebels, and Plenty of Corn and Food began to be
 amongst us.

The several happy Successes against the Rebels stirred the Lord *Moore*
 and other Officers of Quality, to crave that they might have competent
 Forces assign'd them to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Tullaballen*; which
 I readily assented to, and caused Four Hundred Foot and most of the
 Horse, to be in a Readiness to issue forth under the Lord *Moore's* Com-
 mand: Which was no sooner done, but that I immediately caused three
 hundred Foot and fifteen Horse remaining behind, to march forth un-
 der my own Leading after them; for I consider'd that the Rebels Head
 Quarter was at *Bewly*, that they had another Quarter at *Carstown* and
Carlinton; all which might with Convenience fall in the Rear of the
 Lord *Moore*, and give assistance to their Partners at *Tullaballen*: And as I
 supposed; by that time I was come near unto *Kilanure*, I could discern the
 Rebels all upon their March; but they perceiving my Strength, which
 were so placed, that at a Distance they appear'd double the Number,
 stood still at a Gaze, and went no farther: Until within a short Time,
 News came to me of the prosperous success of the Lord *Moore*, who
 with the other Officers behaved themselves with such Valour and Cou-
 rage, that they forc'd the Rebels from a Place of Advantage which they
 had betaken themselves unto, and kill'd four Hundred upon the Place,
 with seven Captains, and *Art Roe Mac Mahon* taken Prisoner, whose Head
 was valued in the Proclamation to the taker or bringer in of him at Four
 Hundred Pound; and several others comprehended in the Proclamation,
 were slain or taken by us without note or recompence. I finding the work
 done,

1641. done without need of my assistance, turn'd my self with the Party that I led, towards those Rebels that shew'd themselves imbodyed at a distance, but I found they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt *Newtown* and other of their Lodgings, and so returned into the Town.

The Evening after this Days glorious Work wherein God, as in former Times, sent us great Deliverance, the Rebels abandoned their Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and the Villages adjoining unto it, and march'd secretly away to *Dundalk*, whereof I had speedy Notice, and sent forth a Party the same Night to possess *Bewly*, and to remain in Garrison in it, thereby preventing the Rebels, who repenting of their sudden Departure, within less than an Hour after my Men were enter'd, returned thither to repossess the Place; but finding unexpected Opposition, forsook the Attempt with the loss of two of their Men. The next Morning I rounded the Country two or three Miles about, saw many Rebels on Hills and Places afar off, but as I made towards them they always avoided me. The Country was left full of Corn, and stored with Cattle, which afforded us plentiful Relief. A few Days after I summoned *Platten*, a strong Castle Garrisoned by the Rebels, within two Miles of *Drogheda*, but was not listened unto: Yet three Days after I returned thither stronger and better prepared to force them, than I was at the first; and finally, I receiv'd it on Composition, that the Garrison should depart unarmed, and carry away some few Goods and Provisions with them. Before the surrender of this Place the Marquis of *Ormonde* was march'd forth of *Dublin*, to come to our Relief; and though he were advertised by the way, of God's Blessings upon us, yet he came forwards to Rejoyce with us in our Deliverance, and to see the State of Affairs among us, with Intention to Prosecute the *Northern* Rebels until they were utterly Destroyed: But the State conceiving it too hazardous, withcalled him from the Enterprize, and sent me likewise Direction to Adventure no farther Abroad than so as I might return the same Day, and Lodge in safety within the Walls. My Lord returned as he was required, and I by my Letters besought the Council to withdraw their strict Limitation, in case they expected Action from me, and conceived me capable after so many trials and hazards to do them Service. Upon this I was left again to my own way of Proceeding, with a grave and sound Advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings. The day following, early in the Morning, I march'd forth accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*, and a competent strength of Horse and Foot, unto *Barnwell's* of *Rabaskers* House, and found him not drest, misdoubting no Visitation of that kind: A little resistance I found, but after a while he was contented to surrender, on Promise that he might be a Prisoner left unto the Law, and not presently put to Death; for this *Barnwell* had served beyond Seas, was a Colonel amongst the Rebels, and on whose Head was set

set four hundred Pound as a Recompence for any that brought him in 1641. dead or alive. That Day, as I returned, I burnt some Villages, took a large Prey in Cattle and Sheep, to the great Satisfaction of the Soldiers, who now fed plentifully after their long Penury and Want.

At this time there was a great rumour that the Rebels would return to the Siege of *Drogheda*, and that *O Reily* with his *Cavan* Forces, consisting of two thousand Men, were that Night to be lodged at *Slane* within five Miles of us. This Intelligence was delivered me about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, and whether framed by the Rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the Reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not lose the Advantage of time, caused five hundred Foot, with all the Horse, to be instantly in Arms, and accompany'd with the Lord *Moore*, I march'd unto the Place, enter'd the Town, took the Castle, which the Soldiers pillaged, and fired the Houses, that it might remain no future shelter for the Rebels. Three Days after, being still Alarm'd with the Rebels Forces, which were sam'd to be many, and lodged at *Atherdee*, eight Miles from *Drogheda*; and I, being desirous to understand the certainty of their strength and condition, which in regard of the Infidelity of divers Natives which I employed for Intelligence (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth twelve hundred Foot and four Troops of Horse, intending to discover it my self; and the 21st of *March*, with two Days Provision of Vi^{ct}ual, meaning within that space to return, I marched to *Slane*, and reduced that Castle, which the Rebels had again repossest, and did some other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The same Night I went two or three Miles farther to lodge in a place of some strength four or five Miles sideways from *Atherdee*. The Rebels appeared in Clusters on several Hills about me, but their Footmanship or Vigilance failed them; for the Horse I sent forth surprized and overtook many of them, putting them to the Sword before they could recover a place of Safety.

The next Morning I set forward on my first Design, with intention only to discover the Enemies strength, and not to advance my Body of Foot nearer than within two Miles of *Atherdee*, that I might secure my Forces upon the Passes, and other Places of Advantage, in case I found the Rebels, as was reported (though I could hardly believe it) much too strong to be dealt with: But my Scouts gone forth, and also a Party of Horse with thirty Musketeers to secure a Pass; after a March of two Miles they discovered the Rebels from the Top of a steep Hill, in two Divisions, in the Valley beneath, consisting, as they supposed, of two thousand five hundred Foot, and a Body of Horse near unto them. Upon this Advertisement I order'd one hundred and twenty choice Musketeers to be drawn forth, and to follow me with Speed, and joyn with the thirty Muske-

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Musketeers which were before them; and that the rest of the Foot should advance after them a moderate Pace. I took all the Horse with me, and went to the Top of an Hill where I had a full sight of the Rebels, whose Foot were not less than two thousand, as was afterwards confessed by some of themselves. Their Horse appear'd in Sight to be fewer than ours, tho' there was present Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord of *Louth*, and divers of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the *Pale*, with many chief Commanders of the *Northern* Rebels. I consider'd their Number and Order, and apprehending a fair Possibility of routing them, commanded the Horse to follow me down the Hill: The Officers at first conceived some danger in it, but when I shewed them it was observable that the Rebels were Irresolute in their Purposes, and that upon the Sight of us they had not advanced one Foot forward, tho' in regard of the Ground before us, they might have done it with Advantage to themselves, in case that they had relolved meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the Hill we could not be prejudiced by them, except by some Shot at Random; and if the Rebels should retire, we had fit Ground and Opportunity to charge them; if they abode, I doubted not by God's Assistance to do it with Safety when the Foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the Hill, and by this time the one hundred and fifty Musketeers I had order'd to follow me a swift Pace, were come up to me; I took of them a small Party, and caused them to give Fire upon a Hedge and Ditch that was near a Musket shot right before one of the Rebels Divisions of Foot, mistrusting some Ambush, which upon the Fire given immediately discover'd it self, and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their Divisions to waver, and incline towards a Retreat; and being loth to lose the Opportunity, I caused my other Musketeers to advance and the Horse to offer a Charge, which their Horse intending not to abide, gain'd their Security by speedy flight, and their Foot with little dispute follow'd after them. Their Horse abandon'd the Field the sooner, because they could discern that I had sent forth a Party of Horse towards the other end of the Town to intercept their Flight, the thing it seems they chiefly intended, in case they met with any opposition. There were slain of their Foot several Officers of Note, and at least six hundred private Soldiers.

In Prosecution of this Victory which God had given us, I found a stop at the Gate, which the Rebels had closed at the end of the Bridge leading into the Town, and from thence plyed us with some Shot; but as soon as I had drawn a Party of Musketeers to play upon them, I found their Shooting abated insomuch that I adventured over the Bridge to the Gate, and through the Chinks I saw it was barricaded with Stones; but upon the right hand of the Bridge I perceived a Ford, which I return'd

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unto, and ordering the Horse to follow me, I enter'd, and charged thro' 1641. the Town, where, at the End without the Gate, the Enemies Horse appeared to us again, standing in good Order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the Matter, through the Advantage of a Bog, they were at least half a Mile from us, neither intended they a nearer distance, for being most of them Men of Quality, and all well mounted, they betook themselves immediately to their speed, and were pursued by Captain *Marrow* above three Miles in vain. Some stragglers were snatch'd up, and between sixty and seventy slain on the Bog on the other Side of the Town; and many others had run the same Fortune, but that most of my Foot were busie in pillaging the Town, and could not be gotten together in convenient Time to prosecute the Service.

At *Atherdee* I rested the next Day, being the 24th of *March*, and rode only with a Party of Horse three or Four Miles farther into the Country; and had a fight of many Rebels afar off, but met with no Opposition from any of them.

That Evening I moved the Lord *Moore* and other chief Officers to give me their Advice touching a Desire I had of prosecuting this Victory God had given us, as far as *Dundalk*; for it was evident that the Rebels were terrified and amazed through this sudden and unexpected Overthrow befallen them, and to follow them close wou'd deprive them of present Counsel and Assurance in the way of Defence. The Lord *Moore* and all the Officers embraced the Motion with much Chearfulness, and so the next Morning, being *Friday*, I marched unto *Hagardstown*, a Village strongly seated within two little Miles of *Dundalk*, and lodged there that Night.

The next Morning we set forwards towards *Dundalk*, and Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his Horse, shewed himself without the Gate that was next unto us; and I supposed he would likewise have drawn forth his Foot, to meet us in the Field, because he could have trebled the Strength that was with me: But upon my nearer Approach, Sir *Phelim* perceiving I would not forsake my Advantage through Fear of the Number that were with him, he retired within the Gates, and there attended my coming, giving Fire from the Walls, which continued thick for a while, until the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers brought them under the Walls of the Suburbs, where in short time they forced open the Gate, and enter'd both Horse and Foot: But the Rebels that had before shewed great Stands of Pikes, were almost wholly retir'd into the Inner Town, and left a Castle well Mann'd in the midst of the Suburbs, which Castle did much annoy us; and it was the Opinion of many, that we had proceeded already beyond Expectation, and that we might with honour forsake the Enterprize. But my Desire was otherwise, the rather, because it pleased God to send a sudden strong and favourable Wind, which, when I had fired the

1641. the Suburbs, drove the Smoak violently into the Town, greatly annoying the Rebels and furthering my Design, insomuch that under Coverture of the Smoak I made Use of my Pioneers with less Danger, and by Degrees got close under the Castle, and heaped up much combustible Stuff against the Door and fired it; which caused the Defendants to abandon their Arms, and shift for themselves, but little to the Safety of the most of them. In the Castle I placed some Musketeers to give Fire on the Enemy in the Market place; and the Smoak of the Suburbs abating, I could see many Rebels, for my greater Encouragement, running forth at the *North-side* of the Town; whereupon I sent Captain *Marrow* with a Party of Horse towards that Place, and follow'd after him my self, with a few Horse, leaving Direction with Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to do the like with my Division of Foot. When I came to the side, I might see Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his Crue on Horseback, on the top of an Hill on the other side the River, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to fall on that Part of the Town where the Wall was low and decay'd, and had little other Defence than a Graff with Water not impassable; but on the sudden I could hear one calling behind me, that *Marrow* was charged by one hundred and twenty Horse, and distressed: Whereupon I caused the Foot to make a Stand, and return'd to the relief of *Marrow*, whom I met soon after coming from the Chace of the Rebels, having met with no Opposition. This false Alarm being over, I pursued my former Purpose, and willed the Foot to proceed; and taking Captain *Marrow* and those Horse with me, I passed suddenly to the *North-gate*, at which the Rebels run out: The Gate I found open, and many unarm'd People hastening forth: Those we went regardlessly through, and made up to the Market-place, where I found no resistance, every one having shifted for himself; only the Musketeers which I placed in the Castle in the Suburbs did a little annoy us, mistaking us for the Enemy, until I made them understand the contrary by Signs; and also sending unto the Lord *Moore* and the other Officers, that I was enter'd and possess'd of the Town.

Afterward I commanded all the Horse and Foot to march in, and draw up in Order in the Market-place, and I caused the Quarter-Masters to divide the Town into Quarters, proportionable to the Companies of Horse and Foot; and what Booty was in any Quarter, that I left to the Officers and Soldiers that were Quarter'd in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the Confusion and Contention about Pillaging was taken away, and I had the Soldiers in a readiness to Answer the Rebels Motion and Attempts, who rumoured great Words, and still swarmed very thick in those Parts: The number of the Slain I looked not after, but there was little Mercy shewed in those Times.

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When the News of this success came to *Dublin*, the State apprehended that I was engaged into too imminent Danger, and partly sent me Advice to abandon the Place, which Town being of importance for the Service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do, except I received a positive Command and Direction to that Purpose; for I was Confident to hold it against all the Rebels Forces that durst appear before it: Besides, I conceived the ten thousand *Scots* would not be idle when they should hear that I was advanced so far *North-ward*, with an handful of Men in comparison of their Numbers. The Rebels were soon grown Numerous again by the Access of some *Northern* Forces to their Aid, and lodged in a strong Castle towards the *Fews* about four Miles from *Dundalk*; there I faced them several Days, but they never adventured beyond their Fastness more than once, and that a little way with a Party of Horse, which I caused to be soon met with (by God's continual Blessing) to their Disadvantage, and killing a few, (for they had a Bog to Friend) took *Toby Guinne*, a special Favourite of Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Prisoner: This Man had been bred amongst us, and marry'd to an *English* Man's Daughter, but now a Degenerated, Active, and Notorious Rebel; in which Respect, notwithstanding many Promises of large Ransom or Exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the Sight of Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Battalions.

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About this time I had News of the *Scots* coming towards the *Newry*; and the next Day I drew my Foot upon the Strand towards *Carlingford*, that the Rebels Scouts might discern them Marching, though I had no Intention to leave *Dundalk* Naked, in the View of Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Rebel Companions on the other side: But taking the Horse with me, and giving Order to the Foot to return, as soon as I was out of sight, I went streight to *Carlingford*, with Intention to Summon the Place, which I believed upon their Scouts Report of my Foot following after me, would occasion them to surrender on easy Conditions; but it appeared their Terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I saw the Town on Fire, and hastning thither a Party of my Horse, they overtook a Sea Captain and some of his Men in the Street running into the Castle, believing us to be of the Rebels, which when they found otherwise, it was much to their Contentment. From this Captain I understood, that lying with his Ship in the Harbour to attend the *Scots* Motion with Necessaries, that that Morning the Town and Castle were hastily Fired by the Inhabitants themselves, and they all fled into the Mountains; and that an *English* Woman or two that had escaped the general Slaughter, were gotten into the Castle, had hindered the Fire in what they could, and wasted him thither, where he came, and found the State of Things to be as I then found them. I wish'd him to make the best Advantage of

1641. what the Rebels had left behind, and to secure the Castle with a Guard until I could send a Captain of Foot to take it into his Charge, having no other than Horse with me at that time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly.

Upon my Return the same Night, I received a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, inviting me to visit him and Major-General *Monroe* at the *Newry*, that we might advise of a farther Prosecution of the Rebels. The Day following I went thither with two Troops of Horse and a Troop of Dragoons; and upon Conference I conceived their Intention and Resolution was, at my parting, to march unto *Ardmagh*, to chase the Rebels out of all their Fastnesses, and to clear the *North*: But a few Days after I receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Conway*, that they had deserted that Design for the present, and were returning back again, in respect their Victuals was spent unto five Days.

A while afterwards the *Scots* were earnest with me to deliver the Castle of *Carlingford* into their Hands; which had been a great Weakness in me to do, as it was Presumption in them to desire, without the Direction of the State.

Sir *Phelim O Neal* and his Partisans grew very jolly upon the *Scots* return, and perswaded themselves of doing great Matters against me: But their Courage prov'd to be only in Words, for I drew forth some Days together into a convenient Field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in Arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake their Strength to draw into Equality of Ground, notwithstanding their Advantage of Numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other Morning into their Quarters, and continued these Visitations for several Weeks together, with the Slaughter of very many of them, especially the new Plantation in the County of *Monaghan*, and at the taking in of *Harry O Neal's* House in the *Fews*; infomuch that by this Courie, and the like acted often by the Garrison at *Drogheda*, there was neither Man nor Beast to be found in sixteen Miles between the two Towns of *Drogheda* and *Dundalk*; nor on the other side of *Dundalk*, in the County of *Monaghan*, nearer than *Carick-mac-Cross*, a strong Pile Twelve Miles distant.

And notwithstanding this continual Travel abroad, I went forwards at Home with the Help of the Officers and Soldiers (wherein they cheerfully concurred with me) to raise a Parapet on one Side of the Town of *Dundalk*, (that was naked of other Defence than a large Graff with Water) and to repair the Walls on the other Side that were greatly broken. I likewise cut off part of the Town to make it more defensible with a large Ditch and Parapet; and made a Draw-Bridge, and raised two Platforms to secure the Curtains with three Pieces of Ordnance I had taken from the Rebels:

Rebels: And all this was done without a Penny Charge to the State, or 1641. any Allowance ever given me in Consideration of it. Besides, I laid in sixty Tuns. of Coals for the Courts of Guard against Winter, and gave such Cattle as were due to me for my Share in Recompence of them: This was never by me accounted for. It may be farther remembered, that for the space of seven Months and upwards, from the beginning of the Siege of *Drogheda*, I never received but five Weeks Means, all that were under my Command living on such Preys as were forced from the Rebels. The Country and Fields about *Dundalk* were abounding in Corn, which I allotted to the several Companies, to be reaped by themselves, towards their present Relief and future Subsistence.

About the midst of *June* I went to *Dublin*, and after a few Days stay I returned unto my Charge, prosecuting the Rebels, as I had formerly done. In *August* I went again to *Dublin*, and staying a short Time there I came back to *Drogheda*, where I remained until the Lord *Lisle* went forth with part of the Army to remove the Rebels from about *Trim*, in which Expedition I waited on his Lordship with five hundred choice Foot: And that Service ended by the Rebels firing the Castle they possessed, and retreating, and my Lord's taking of *Clone* in the County of *West-meath*, burning the House at *Lough Ramor* and *Virginia*; and taking of *Carrick-mac-Cross* in the County of *Monaghan*, with great Store of Prey, and Destruction of the Rebels.

His Lordship return'd, and I attended him unto *Drogheda*, where I remained as in my Place of Settlement; for about this time the Lord *Moore* received a Commission from his Majesty for the Command of the County of *Louth*, and the Barony of *Slane*; whereupon I surrender'd the Garrison of *Dundalk*, as comprized in that Grant, with such Corn, Hay, and Cattle as was provided for my own spending, Eighty Barrels of Herring, three hundred twenty four Barrels of Corn, near seventy Tuns of Coals in the Store for the Guards, the Works about the Town repair'd and fortify'd as aforesaid, without one Penny Charge to the State. And from that time I apply'd my self to the Necessities of *Drogheda*, where the former Plenty being now consumed, and little Relief to be obtain'd from *Dublin*, I had many Wants to contend with, which I endeavour'd to remedy by drawing all the Cattle and Corn I could procure, into the Store, and buying some with my ready Money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the Cessation, I never sold Cow or Barrel of Bread-Corn for my peculiar Use, but turned all to the Furtherance of the Publick. And of other Pillage I rarely receiv'd any; but left it for the most part entire to the Officers and Soldiers, who deserved greater Recompence, adventuring themselves with much Valour, Resolution and Patience in the daily Prosecution of the Service. Many of the Rebels were slain

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1641. at several Times; but the most, and most remarkable during this Winter, was at the Mill of *Kells*, which they obstinately maintain'd.

In *March* the Marquis of *Ormonde* led the Army, with the Flower of the Garrison of *Drogheda* and other adjacent Garrisons, towards *Ross*; and I receiving Intelligence that the Rebels intended to send of their *Northern* Forces, to assist their Party in those Quarters against the Marquis of *Ormonde*, I moved the Lord *Moore* to draw the best Strength he could conveniently from *Dundalk*; and sending for those that might be spared from *Trim*, I met them at *Kells*, the appointed Rendezvous, with a Party from *Drogheda*, where we made in all eleven hundred Foot and one hundred and twenty Horse. At *Kells* we took a few Prisoners that were not aware of their Danger, and amongst them one *Plunket* a Popish Arch-Deacon. Part of their *Cavan* Forces were then near us, and sent a Drummer pretending to treat an Exchange or Ransom of the Arch-Deacon: The Drummer, as is the Custom of such Fellows, spake much of the Strength and Valour of the *Cavan* Men; and I, that I might make a little Use of his Errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our Strength and Intention, than to redeem the Prisoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through *Westmeath* toward the County of *Longford*: But since he spake so much of the Number and Courage of the *Cavan* Forces near me, I would turn my Course that Way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for Fear of their Power and Ability to resist me. The Drummer appearing to be perplexed, because his Boasting was like to bring Inconvenience upon his Country, not formerly intended; wherefore I said farther (for I knew it would have Wings when it came amongst them) that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrify'd) lodge that Night in the County of *Cavan*, it not being Two Miles out of my Way into the County of *Longford*. And after we were all in a Readiness to march I dismiss'd the Drummer, chearful in the Apprehension that he had discovered so much of my Purpose. That Night we went Eight Miles into the County of *Cavan*, saw many Rebels, but they knew their Distance; yet at *Lough Ramor*, in an Island, we lighted on the Earl of *Fingall's* Two Children, Thirty Case of new Pistols, with other Goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence.

That Night, about one of the Clock, the Moon shining, we set forth towards the *Cavan*, came thither seasonably the next Day, and unexpected, the Rebels being secure on their Drummer's Report that I intended another Way; the Town was soon abandoned, and every Man shifted for himself. The next Day the Rebels were gotten together, fought with us at *Ballybays*: Afterwards at a Bridge within three Miles of *Bekurbet*. We routed them at both Places in one Day, took two Captains and several

ral other Prisoners, besides many of their Soldiers and some remarkable Men slain by us. We freed divers *English* that were in Restraint among them, and kill'd a Rebel as he was firing a House, wherein there were ten *English* shut up ready to be burnt. I staid two Days entire in those Parts, burnt *Ballybays*, the *Cavan*, and other Places, and then returned with a great Prey; which served much to the Relief of our several Garrisons, in those Days of exceeding Wants and great Extremities. 1641.

About the latter End of *April*, when I had prepared to fall into the County of *Longford*, I was fain to forsake that Design, and to repair to *Dublin*, whither I was called by his Majesty's Letter to be one of his Justices; a Charge as far above my Expectation or Desire, as unsuitable to my Parts or Fortune: Yet there being a Necessity of my Obedience, I framed my self to the best of my Capacity to advance the Publick Service, and finding the Army in the highest Extremity of Want, all Ways and Means already sought and run through for their Support, even to the seizing the Native Commodities of the Kingdom; Hides; Tallow, and such like, taken from Shipboard after the Customs paid, and exposed to Sale. I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir *John Borlace*, his Majesty's other Justice, and my self, with the Council, daily assembled: We spent the whole Time in sending Complaints into *England*, both to King and Parliament; in the mean Time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole Board for Money, and all sorts of Victual and Commodities convertible to the Soldiers Relief.

Amidst these Extremities his Majesty's Letters came over, signifying his Majesty's Sorrow, and Disability to relieve us, in regard of the Troubles in *England*. All Mens Eyes were on the Parliament, but no Succours in those Times arriving from thence to support the Forces, his Majesty permitted a Treaty to be had with the *Irish* touching a Cessation of Arms, in case all other Helps were failing: Which was generally so disagreeing to the Board, that most of them desired to run any Fortune and Extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was so much of that Opinion, that when the Marquis of *Ormonde* made offer that if he might be advanc'd 10000 *l.* part Victuals, part Shoes and Stockings, and part Money, that he would immediately draw towards the Rebels, and either compel them to run the Hazard of the Field, or to forsake their Quarters, and leave them to the Spoil of our Soldiers, which might prove to them a future Subsistence. And when *Theodore Scout* and the rest of the Merchants of *Dublin* had refused to advance the Money upon the Security of all the Lands of the whole Board, and the Customs of *Dublin*, for the Interest of the Money; I moved the Board, there being at that Time one and twenty Counsellours present, and my self of meanest Fortune among them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar Means

Means and Credit, would procure 300 *l.* which amongst us all would raise 6300 *l.* For even with that Sum, and such Means as the Marquis of *Ormonde* should procure himself, he offer'd to undertake the Work, and that there should be no farther mention of a Cessation amongst us. But this Motion of mine finding no Place, the Cessation in short time began to be treated on, and was in Sincerity of Heart as much hinder'd and delay'd by me, as was in my Power; for I believ'd it would be hurtful to the Publick, and therefore I cast in Rubs to lengthen the Treaty, expecting daily Relief and Money from *England*, whither Sir *Thomas Wharton* was employ'd with the sad Stories of the Publick Miseries. Thus was the Cessation laid aside for a while, which was afterwards renewed at *Gigenstown*.

At that time *Owen O Neal* fell into our Quarters, and took several Castles, for want of competent Forces to oppose him: Whereupon, understanding that *Monroe* with a flourishing Army of *Scots* was in the County of *Ardmagh*, and in three Days March might be brought to our Assistance; I moved the Board to write unto him, to advance his Forces, and joyn with us against the Common Enemy. And because the Message might be the better accepted, Colonell *Crawford* was employ'd unto him with the aforesaid Letter, and particular Advice and Perswasion from my self to hasten his coming. How Colonell *Crawford* acquitted himself in the Discharge of this Trust, will best appear by *Monroe's* Answer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord *Moore* his voluntary readiness to joyn with us; but now invited, and that by a Power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the Marquis of *Ormonde* had not sign'd the Letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed from Colonell *Crawford*, that the Marquis of *Ormonde* was absent upon the Treaty; and that the Letter could not in Convenience of Time be transmitted unto him, returned, and sent, with Expectation of that speedy Remedy we were necessarily to reap by it.

Now this Hope failing, as a broken Reed not to be rely'd on, Colonell *Monk* was call'd from good Success in the County of *Wicklow*, to joyn with the Lord *Moore* for the Succour of *Meath*, where the Lord *Moore* was unhappily slain: Yet the Expectation of Victual and Relief from *England* stop'd the hasty Progress of the Cessation, until the Evening, as I take it, of the 11th or 12th of *September*, a Fleet of Ships was discovered near the Harbour, to the great Joy of all honest Hearts: But the next Morning, one Captain *Dauske*, that was come in with the Fleet of Provisions, and had landed the Night before, returned early on Ship-board, hoisted Sail, forsook the Harbour, and compelled Seventeen Barks laden with Necessaries from *Liverpool* and other Places, to do the like. On what Ground or Intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so

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rare and unlook'd for Accident amazed all Men, put the Soldiers into a Mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and in my Apprehension, a very dishonourable Cessation to be concluded with the Rebels, with very much Dislike of most of those that were Actors in the Treaty. 1641.

Sir *John Borlace* and my self continued the Place of Justices until about *Christmas* following, and then by his Majesty's Direction deliver'd up the Sword to the Marquis of *Ormond*; and I retiring my self to my former Charge at *Drogheda*, labour'd to support that Garrison, that in due time it might be serviceable to the Crown of *England*. And when the Summer following the *Scotch* Forces advanc'd into *Westmeath*, returned by our Quarters, and lodged at *Atherdee*, though they profess themselves opposite to our Party, and had proffer'd some Acts of Hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder Provision to be sent unto them, as some Snarlers at all my Actions have untruly suggested: But the Truth is, they abounded in all Provisions, and staid at *Atherdee* but one Night, insomuch that the Drink and other Necessaries that several Persons of *Drogheda* had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was desired.

About eight or ten Days after that the *Scotch* Army was return'd in to the *North*, the Earl of *Castlehaven* and *Owen Roe O'Neal*, with all the *Irish* Strength, came unto *Atherdee*, and remained in those Parts, as I remember, about Fourteen Days; and during the time of their Abode, they required the Benefit of the Market, for the buying of such Provisions as were needful for them, and that the Town and Garrison might spare: Which Demand agreeing with the Articles of Cessation, could not be in reason absolutely deny'd by me, except I would draw their united Forces on *Drogheda*, the Garrison being weak, and unable to oppose them. And this was a Thing that was propos'd amongst them by *Owen Roe O'Neal*, as I was informed. However, I cast in many Rubs, and found several Ways to delay their Desire of Commerce, until at last the Earl of *Castlehaven* sent his Lieutenant General to understand the Reason of my Backwardness, and to expostulate the Matter with me at large: And then indeed I had Direction from *Dublin* to grant them their Desire, whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman *Geves*, the present Mayor of the Town, and told him in the Presence of the Lieutenant General, that the Articles of the Cessation afforded free Traffick for either Party; and that a provident Care being in the first Place taken for the Necessities of the Town, the Benefit of the Market might be granted unto those that were without; and the Lieutenant General might appoint some one of the Inhabitants of the Town to buy such Provisions for the Use of the *Irish* Army, as could conveniently be spared. Whereupon he named one *Dar-dis*, who came unto me to know whether he might with Safety, and without future Blame, be employed by them: And I told him, he might;

1641, for I was not willing that any of theirs should lodge in the Town, or frequent our Markets. The Provision that they had, was most Drink. Of 160 Barrels of Wheat bought for their Use, I caused the Moiety to be stop'd. Some Oatmeal they had, and coarse Bread of Beans and Pease was carried forth by private Persons to be sold unto them. The whole Quantities are extant in the Excise-Books of *Drogheda*, not amounting in all to the value of 800 *l.* most of it being in Beer, and of little Relief to the *Irish* Army; though much hath been spoken on this Subject to traduce me, by foul Mouths, and Persons of unsound Hearts, which hath caused me the rather thus far to insist on this Particular.

From that Time I continued constant in my Care and Charge, without intermeddling in other Affairs, until certain Overtures of Peace were propounded by the *Irish* Party, in my Opinion very unequal as destructive to the Protestant Religion, exceeding hurtful to his Majesty's present Service, and to the utter Ruin of the *English* Interest in this Kingdom.

And that his Majesty might rightly understand the Conditions of the *Irish*, and the Nature and Quality of their Demands, I was sent among others unto *Oxford*, with the whole Passages of the Treaty, and did acquit my self with that Freedom in every Particular, as became the Loyalty and Fidelity I owe unto my King and Country. And at our Return from *Oxford*, all of us that were upon the aforesaid Employment were taken at Sea, between *Wales* and *Ireland*, and carried Prisoners unto *London*, and committed to the Tower: A bad Recompence of my Endeavours. Yet I cannot justly complain, because foul and false Accusations were exhibited against me, which coming to be justified, had not so much as a Shadow of Truth.

Afterwards I was enlarged on Exchange, and continued my Command in *Ireland* with the same Duty, Zeal and Affection to the Service of my King and Country, as I had formerly done, And in pursuance thereof, the Commissioners sent over by the Parliament being willing to continue my Employment, I embrac'd it with cheerfulness, and in few Days passing from *Dublin* to *Drogheda*, with a small Convoy of fifteen Horse, and as many more Officers of Quality and Valour, besides some Travellers and Merchants, we were way-laid by near Three Hundred Rebels, choice Horse, well arm'd and mounted; whom notwithstanding, it being a Case of Necessity, we boldly charged, kill'd the Captain that led them; and there, in the midst of the Rebels, a young Man (to say no more of him, because he was my Son) of fair Hopes was to my continual Sorrow unfortunately slain. Afterwards we made good our Retreat Three Miles, losing in it and in the first Place of Combat those Eleven Men; and amongst Lieutenant Colonel *Treuer*, a Gentleman of singular Worth and Valour. Neither had the Rebels much to vaunt of, for they lost Two Leaders of Quality

Quality and Six Troopers. This I relate the more particularly, because the 1641: Opposition they found in so small a Party served greatly to abate their Courage, when we met them some nine or ten Days after, at the Battle of *Dungan Hill*. At that Battle I led the Rear-guard of the Army, and acquitted my self in that Days Service as became me; whereof the Parliament, without any Motion or Expectation of mine, were pleas'd to take to take so far Notice as to vote me 200 l. A while after I fell into the County of *Cavan*, took a great Prey from the Rebels, burnt much of their Corn, and return'd without the Loss of one Man.

In *November* following I had Notice, and gave Colonel *Jones* Advertisement of *Owen Roe O Neal's* Preparations and March towards our Quarters; and this being *Saturday* in the Evening, I sent immediately Directions that Night to the Horse at *Drogheda* and the Garrisons in those Parts, consisting of two Regiments and five Troops, to be with me at *Trim* on *Monday* Morning following: And accordingly seven Troops came to me, as the rest might have done to the Advantage of the Service, but did it not at that Time. With these seven Troops I followed the Rear-guard of *O Neal*, and sometimes on his Flank, from *Monday* till *Thursday* following, taking and killing divers of his Men that were left to fire our Quarters; by which Means I preserved much of the Country from Spoil. On *Thursday* in the Afternoon the rest of the Horse came up to me; and also I received a Letter from Colonel *Jones*, in any case to joyn with him, near *Dublin*, if possibly I could; which I effected at *Donsfin* three Miles from *Dublin*, between ten and eleven that Night. The next Morning we march'd after *Owen Roe*, and before Night overtook him with his Army, between *Ratothe* and *Garrifstown*. That we then fought not with him, he being on his Retreat in a kind of flying Posture, was the Advice and Counsel of warier Men than my self; for Advantage ought not to be lost through the Fear of the Number of the Enemy, since the flight of the baser Sort serves to rout the most valorous; and we had many hopeful Reasons to make a Tryal of at that Time: But Colonel *Jones*, though not ignorant of the Occasion, yet would not be perswaded by me; but delay'd the Execution of it till the next Day, which *Owen Roe*, by stealing away that Night utterly prevented.

Not long after I enter'd into the County of *Westmeath* with a considerable party of Horse and Foot, took in the Town of *Poore* and another Castle, and burnt them; with several other Places, and abundance of Corn in Store and Stack, as far as *Multefarnam*, insomuch that when I was returned with a great Prey, the Rebels sent from *Mullingar* to offer themselves under Contribution. In my way to *Westmeath* Major *Cadogan* with a Party of Foot took in a strong House that before the Rebellion belonged to himself with a Nest of fifteen or sixteen Notorious Rebels. Other Services were done that Journey, which, in regard they met with no Opposition, I forbear to particularize.

1641.

The remainder of that Winter I often fell into the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, always with Success, to the Destruction of many of the Rebels, and the gaining of considerable Preys: For the Want we suffer'd, and the Necessity of our Condition, required us to run many Hazards, thereby to gain Subsistence.

In the Spring Colonel *Monck* drew a Party out of the *North*, march'd through the Rebels Quarters, drove all before him; and by Agreement, I fell in on the other Side, compass'd a great Part of the County of *Cavan*, went through the wasted Town of *Cavan*, past by *Ballybays* and other Places, and met Colonel *Monck* on the Borders, between the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*. Between us we took a great Prey from the Rebels, distress'd them in all Places where they made Opposition, which was not considerable; insomuch that though they lost much Cattle, few were slain in the defence of them. I afterwards made other Roads to the same Purpose, and ever with happy returns.

In July Colonel *Jones* sent me two Culverins with a Party of Foot from *Dublin*, to strengthen those I could conveniently draw from *Drogheda* and the Garrisons about me, that I might be enabled to go before *Ballyboe* and other Holds and Castles of the Rebels, which much annoy'd our Frontiers; and Colonel *Monck* drew forth a Party out of *Dundalk*, and sat down on the other side of *Ballyboe*, in the County of *Monaghan*. The next Morning after my Arrival I sent forth a Party, and took in a Castle that defended a Pass on *Logan* Water, between Colonel *Monck* and my self. The Rebels in *Ballyboe* were confident of their Strength, and comforted with Expectation of Relief, which made them bold and Resolute to endure the Battery, and defend the Place: But when the breach appear'd in some sort assailable, they beat a Parley; and though we were at first resolv'd not to listen to them, in regard of their Obstinacy, yet at last we condescended to forbear a little, and hear their Demands; and thereupon some of the Officers and Soldiers appearing more openly than formerly, in Confidence of the Parley, the Rebels instantly gave Fire upon us. Colonel *Monck* and my self standing on the Battery close together, a Bullet past through one of the Culverin Ladles, and in the descent touch'd my Hat, and fell on Colonel *Monck's* Strap of his Buff Hangers and Girdle, cut them both through, and rested in his Buff Coat without farther Hurt; but Colonel *Ponfoby* was shot in the Leg, a little below the Knee: Whereupon we gave present Order to fall on, as we were formerly prepar'd to do; and by God's Assistance took it by Assault, putting all to the Sword (for the most part) that were found in it, which were many, in regard most of the Rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retired thither.

This Castle taken, Colonel *Monck* return'd to *Dundalk*, and I went forward to the *Nabbor* and *Cruce's* Fort, both strong Places; but upon my Advance

Advance deserted by the Rebels, as several other Castles were, or deliver'd 1641. without a Stroke, to the Number of Nine, whereof most were blown up, the rest Garrison'd by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had Order to return, and did so accordingly about the Beginning of *August*; at which time there was a great Fame of the Marquis of *Ormonde's* landing in *Munster*, and several Officers that had served under him heretofore against the Rebels (upon no Ground that ever could appear, but the Jealousie of the Times) were sent Prisoners into *England*, others clapt in Prison in the Castle of *Dublin* and at *Drogheda*. I was inform'd that the like Proceeding was intended against my self, and that I was the first in the List to be sent over into *England*; but having the Charge of those Forces abroad, the Time was not then seasonable. Whereupon I wrote to Colonel *Jones*, that I understood I was drawn into suspicion through some malicious Representation of me in *England*; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the Service of *Ireland*, nor receive so bad a Recompence of my many Hazards and faithful Endeavours against the Rebels in this War, as to be made an undeserved Prisoner, I craved his License to go over into *England*, that if any Crime could be laid unto my Charge, I would be there ready to clear my self, or undergo the Punishment proper for it: Which Colonel *Jones* granted.

And although at my coming to *London* I had Liberty from the Council of State to return to my Command, yet because the Times were full of Jealousies, and that I was not alike grounded in all Mens Opinions (for some business of mine being debated in the House, it appear'd there were many that had a prejudicate Opinion of me) I therefore freely reposed my Arms, and forsook my Employment.

I have not written this to glorify my self, but to leave you, my dearly Beloved, these few Memorials of my Actions, wherein it pleased God to use me instrumentally, that you may the better frame your Address to the lawful Favour of those that have Power to assist you in the Recovery of my several Disbursements made for the Army, and my Personal Arrears. But look not on them, my Dear, as a large and precious Legacy; nor do not murmur or repine, though your Suits and just Desires are rejected: For God is All-sufficient, on whom alone I beseech you and your Family wholly to depend, making that the sole End of your Business to fear him, and keep his Commandments: So shall you be sure, in all Conditions and Estates, to find Content here, and Eternal Felicity hereafter, which God grant us all. The last Petition of

June 8th,
1651.

Your Affectionate Husband,
HEN. TICHBORNE.

The Names of the several Captains, as they came in for our Defence at *DROGHEDA*.

October 26, 1641.

THE Lord Viscount *Moore* of *Drogheda*, with his Troop of Horse consisting of Sixty Six.

Sir John Netterville, Captain } With their two half standing Companies.
Rockly Captain }

Seafowle Gibson, Captain } His Company of the *English* Inhabitants and
other Protestants were to the number of 120.

November the fourth, 1642.

Sir Henry Tichborne, Colonel, and Governour of the Town, his Company of Foot.

Sir John Borlace Captain, } These three, though having been before Officers
L. Colonel Byron Captain, } of the Field, yet out of their Zeal to the pre-
L. Colonel Wenmond Capt. } sent Service came as private Captains.

Jacob Lovel, Serjeant-Major, who died in the Siege.

Captain Ghibester Fortescue.

Captain Will. Willoughby.

Captain Edw. Billingley.

Captain Lewis Owens.

Captain John Morris.

The Troops of Horse.

John Sloughter Captain, Lieutenant to *Sir Thomas Lucas*, Commissary General.

Thomas Grymes, Lieutenant to *Sir Adam Loftus*.

November the Tenth.

Captain Henry Bryan.

Capt. Patrick Trevor.

Capt. Foulke Martin.

November the Two and Twentieth.

Christopher Roger Serjeant-Major, } These 3 Captains escaped very defective
Captain William Cadogan, } in their Companies from the Defeat at
Captain Charles Sownley, } the Bridge of *Gillianstown*.

Fifty Horse under the Command of *Sir Patrick Weymes*, Captain Lieutenant to the Earl of *Ormonde*.

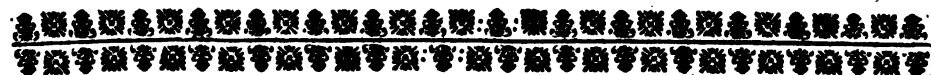
February the Twentieth, with our Second Relief.

Capt. Richard Borrows.

Capt. Edward Trevor.

Capt. Will Hamilton.

When all the aforesaid Captains (excepting the Regiment of *Sir Henry Tichborne*) were appointed to be under my Lord *Moore's* Command.



WE whose Names are here underwritten, who have been and continued Captains within the Town of *Drogheda*, during the Siege, and so Eye-witnesses of most Things which have fall'n out in it, having duly and diligently read over this Book, Entituled, *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*; do hereby according to the several Times of our coming thither, and according to our best Remembrance, confirm this foregoing History to be wholly Truth: and do Testify it to be in each particular very impartially and fully Related. As Witnesses our Hands this Eleventh of *June*, 1651.

Seaf. Gibson.
Jo. Sloughter.

Rob. Byron.
Rich. Borrows

Phil. Wenman.
P. Weymes.



The Lord Viscount *Moor* of *Drogheda*, his Confirmation of the Truth of the Foregoing History.

Howsoever the known Integrity of the Author is a sufficient Testimony of it self, yet (having the second time read over this Book, Entituled, *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*, where I have been an Eye-witness of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I do hereby (according to the Attestation of the Six other Captains, and in Answer to the Desire of such as have conceived it necessary) confirm this foregoing History to be wholly Truth, and in each particular to be fully and very impartially Written; (only declining throughout such Passages as may concern my self.) As Witness my Hand this 22d of *June*, 1651.

MOORE.

F I N I S.

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THE WHOLE
T R Y A L

OF

Connor Lord Mac-Guire,

WITH

The perfect Copies of the **Indictment**, and all the
Evidences against him.

ALSO,

The Copy of Sir *Phelim O Neil's* Commission, the
Pope's Bull to the Confederate **CATHOLICKS** in

I R E L A N D:

WITH

- Many remarkable Passages of the **Grand Rebellion** there, from the first
Rise thereof to this present. His Plea of **PEERAGE**, and several
Answers: With the several Replies made to him.

By { The King's Sergeant at Law, and Sergeant **ROLL**.
{ **WILLIAM PRYNNE**, Esquire; and **M. NUDIGATE**.

A N D

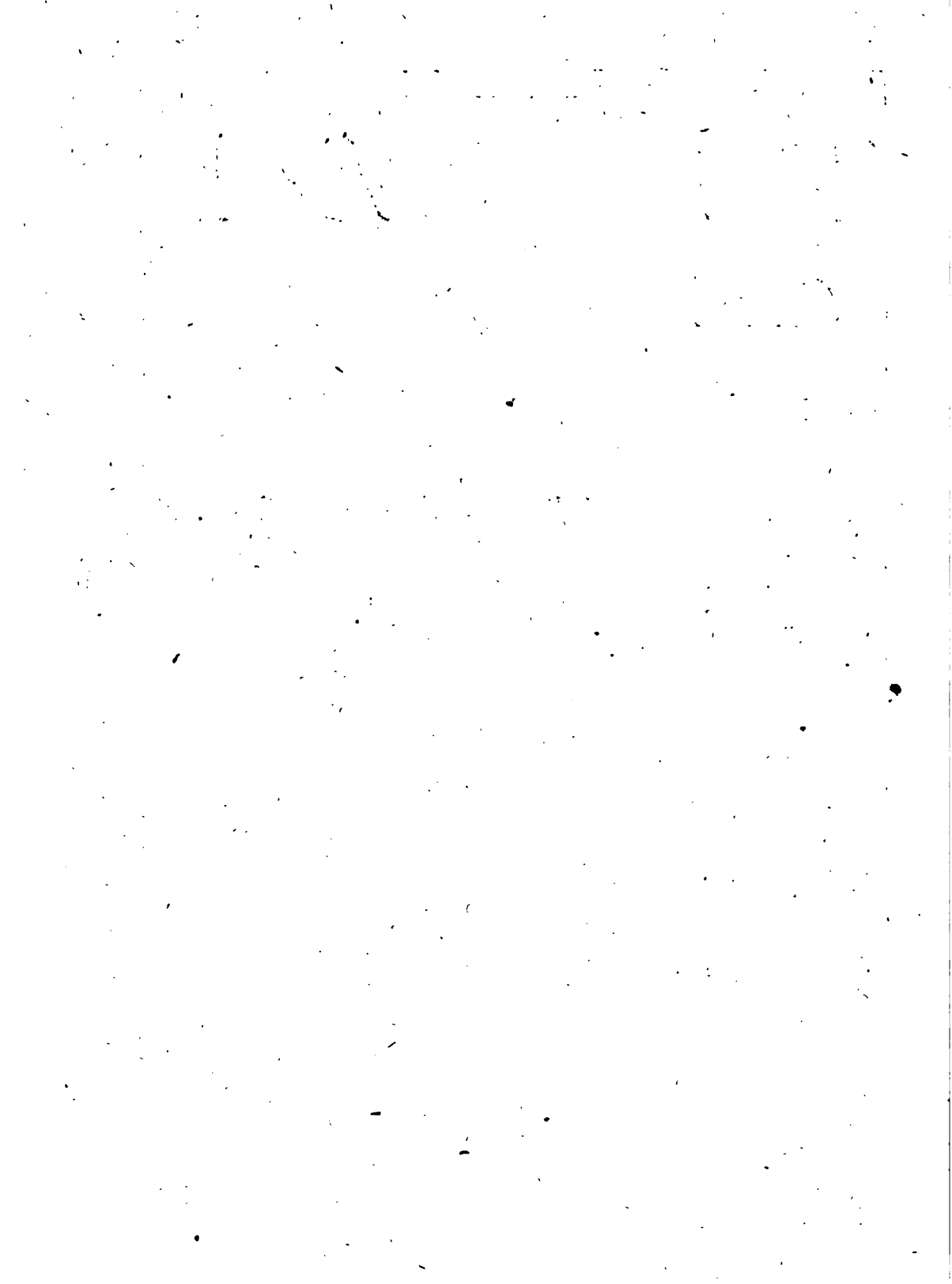
The Copies of the several Testimonies brought in against him at his Tryal
at the King's Bench-Bar, in *Hillary* Term last:


B Y

The Lord <i>Blaney</i> ,	{	Sir <i>Fran. Hamilton</i> ,	{	<i>John Carmicke</i> .
Lady <i>Caulfield</i> ,		Sir <i>Edw. Borlacey</i> ,		<i>Walter Gubson</i> .
Sir <i>Arthur Loftus</i> ,		Sir <i>William Cole</i> ,		<i>M. Bunbury</i> .
Sir <i>John Temple</i> ,		Sir <i>Charles Coot</i> .		<i>Capt. Mich. Balfoure</i> .
Sir <i>William Stewart</i> ,		Mrs. <i>Wordrofe</i> .		<i>Captain Berisford</i> .

D U B L I N:

Printed by and for **AARON RHAMES**, and are to be sold by the
Bookfellers, **MDCCXXIV**.




 HERE will be no need of making any long Preamble to this Business of the Lord *Mac-Guire*: there is none of us but have cause to be very sensible of it in some of our Blood, some dear Friend, or at least some Acquaintance in the present unhappy War ensuing this most damnable Treason, plotted by him and his Confederates; the Particulars whereof you will find in Order, which are in themselves so Copious, and Satisfactory, that it will not need any other pointing out then the Order it lies in.

Here followeth a Proclamation Published upon the first discovery of the Plot.

A Proclamation, by the Lords JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publish to all his Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, that there is a Discovery made to us the Lords Justices and Council, of a most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy intended by some evil affected Irish Papists, against the lives of Us, the Lords Justices and Council, and many others of his Majesty's faithful Subjects universally throughout this Kingdom, and for the seizing not only of his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, His Majesty's principal Fort here, but also of the other Fortifications in this Kingdom: And seeing by the great Goodness and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majesty and this State and Kingdom, those wicked Conspiracies are brought to Light, and some of the Conspirators committed to the Castle of Dublin, by Us, by his Majesty's Authority, so as those wicked and damnable Plots are now disappointed in the chief Parts thereof: We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publicly known, for the Comfort of his Majesty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but also hereby to require them that they do with all Confidence and Chearfulness betake themselves to their own Defence, and stand upon their Guard, so to render the more Safety to themselves and all the Kingdom besides, and that they advertise Us with all possible speed of all Occurrences which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to shew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always shown for the publick services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majesty accordingly, and a special Memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due Time: And We re-

quire that great care be taken that no Levies of Men be made for foreign Service, nor any Men suffered to march upon any such Pretence.

Given at His Majesty's Castle at *Dublin*, 23 *Octob.* 1641.

R. Dillon, Ro. Digby, Ad. Loftus,
J. Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fr.
Willoughby, J. Ware, Rob. Mer-
edith.

God Save the King.

Imprinted at *Dublin* by the Society of Stationers, 1641.

The Rebellion (notwithstanding this Proclamation) went on still; for though it took not at *Dublin*, where this Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahan*, and some other Conspirators were discovered, and apprehended and many of the Rebels were dispersed by reason thereof; Yet they called them in again, from Time to Time, by Warrants, (of which fort here is the Copy of one under *Plunket's* own Hand,) and have ever since continued this Rebellion.

By the Right Honourable the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

THES E are to Will and Command you forthwith to make diligent Search and Enquiries within your several Towns, Villages, Quarters and Corporations, for all such Soldiers as are come from the Fort of Duncannon, since the late Cessation; which were under the command of Captain Ralph Capron, and Captain Edward Ashton; and wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, their Bodies to restrain and deliver unto the said Captains, upon demand by the said Captains, or either of them, the said Captains faithfully promising not to inflict any further Punishment upon the said Soldiers, or any of them, for this their first Fault; whereof you may not fail, as you and every of you will answer the contrary. And for so doing, shall be a sufficient Warrant.

Given at *Waterford* the 15th of November, 1643.

N. Plunket.

To all his Majesty's Sheriffs, Sovereigns, Portriffs, Bayliffs, Colonels, Captains, Commanders, and other Officers whom it may concern within the County of *Wexford*, or elsewhere.

And

And in this bloody War plotted and begun in *Ireland* by this Lord *Mac-Guire*, and his Confederates, and seconded in *England*: How many thousand of Men, Women, and Children have lost their Lives; and for this the Rebels plead great Authority, as appears by this Declaration following.

A Declaration of the Lords, Gentry, and Others of *Leinster* and *Munster*, of their Intentions towards the *English* and *Scotish* Protestants, Inhabitants within this Kingdom.

WHereas we are informed, that it is generally conceived and believed by the *English* and *Scotish* Protestants Inhabitants of this Kingdom, that we the Lords, Gentry, and others of the said Kingdom, have taken Arms, and taken Forces, for the Extirpation and Banishing of them out of this Kingdom, thereby to acquire to our selves their Goods and Estates: We therefore desire to be rightly understood; for We hereby declare, that We never consented, nor intended, nor neither will intend, nor condescend to any such Act, but do utterly disclaim them; but that each Man known to be a moderate conformable Protestant, may (as well as the Romish Catholics) respectively live and enjoy the Freedom of their own Religion, and peaceably and quietly possess their own Estates, so far forth as they, or any of them, shall joyn with Us in this Oath following:

I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints, and by the Contents of the Bible, Promise, Vow, Swear and Protest, to bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, and the Heirs and Successors of his Body begotten, and will defend Him and Them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, against all Persons that attempt any thing against his or their Persons, Honours, Estates, and Dignities; and that I will with the exposing of my Life, Power, and Estate, joyn with the said Irish or any Other, to recover his Estate, Royal Prerogatives forcibly wrested from Him by the Puritans, in the Houses of Parliament in England, and to maintain the same against Them and all Others, that shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress or do any Act contrary to regal Government; as also to maintain Episcopal Jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof in the Church, Powers and Priviledges of Prelates, and the lawful Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects:

* And I will do no Act or Thing, directly or indirectly, to hinder the free* Note and publick Exercise of the Romish Catholick Religion in any His. this. Majesty's Dominions; and that I will joyn with, and be assistant to the Members

bers of this Common-wealth for Redress to be had of the Grievances and Presures thereof, in such Manner and Form as shall be thought fit by a lawful Parliament, and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose and bring to condign Punishment, even to loss of Life, Liberty and Estate, of all such as either by Force, or Practice, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies or Otherwise, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause or any Thing in this present Oath, Vow, or Protestation, contained; and neither for Reward, Fear, or Punishment, or any Respect whatsoever, shall relinquish this Oath and Protestation. So help me God.

This Declaration and Oath was entred in the Council Book of Kilkenny, and this is a true Copy thereof. Witness the Hand of

Jeremy Green, Clerk of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny.

God save the King.

By the Confederate Catholicks of the Supreme Council.

WHereas the Scottish Army in the Province of Ulster, and other their Adherents, in the said Province, and other parts of the Kingdom, have of late (as often before) taken a Traiterous Oath of Covenant against His Sacred Majesty, his Crown and Dignity, and made an unchristian and prophane Vow for the utter Extirpation of the Irish Nation, and total Suppression of the Catholick Roman Religion, Subversion of Monarchical Government, and introduction of confused Anarchy within this Realm: And not contented with the inhuman and unparalleled Massacres by them committed on poor Labourers, Women, Children, and many thousands of other Innocents of our Nation, without distinction of Age, Sex, or Condition, before the conclusion of the Cessation at Siggins Town, on the 15th of September last, notwithstanding continual Depredations, Robberies, Thefts, Burnings, and Destruction of all the Corn and Inhabitants in many Counties and Territories within the said Realm, and elsewhere by them acted before the said Cessation: The said traiterous Covenanters receiving their Maintenance, Support, and Orders, from the Rebels now in Arms against his Majesty in England; have augmented, and do rather multiply and increase

increase, than diminish their exorbitant Courses: And whereas the said Rebels have joined in a strict Union and Confederation to destroy the Irish Nation root and branch (as they term it) and their Ministers and Adherents, by their Directions, at Sea as well as Land, do exercise no less Cruelty: For, as oft as Shipping do meet any weaker Vessels at Sea, transporting Men from this Kingdom for His Majesty's Service in England, if Irish-Men, though Protestants, and valiant and useful Servitors against the Confederate Catholicks in this War, the Irish are thrown overboard, as doth appear by the late throwing into the Sea, and drowning of an Irish Company of Foot of Colonel Willoughby's Regiment, all Protestants and Servitors as aforesaid; and many Women in their Passage from Dublin to Bristol by one of the pretended Parliament Ships, and sundry other Examples of that kind, against the Law of War and Nations. And whereas the said Scottish Army, all composed of Rebels and Assassins, are now in their march in great Numbers towards the three Provinces of this Kingdom, to accomplish the Plots and Machinations aforesaid: And whereas the said Rebels in England have provided a great Navy, a considerable part whereof doth surround the Sea-coast in this Kingdom, and are resolved the next Summer, if it rest in their Power, which God defend, to land great Forces in the Province of Munster and Leinster: And the said Rebels of Scotland have the like design of landing of Forces in the parts of Ulster next unto the Province of Conaght: And whereas the Auxiliary Forces of the three Provinces, designed and raised for the necessary Defence of our Religion, King, and Nation, are now marched to the Province of Ulster under the Command of our very good Lord the Earl of Castlehaven, General, appointed by the last General Assembly for the Expedition of Ulster, to repel the said Fury and Insolency of the said Rebels. Wherefore we hold it of absolute necessity, for the Safety of the Kingdom, and His Majesty's Interest therein, that all the said other three Provinces be forthwith in Arms, as well to preserve themselves at home from the said intended Invasions, as also to be ready to assist the said Army abroad, marched into Ulster, if need require.

We do therefore by this publick Act and Proclamation Order, Command, and Require all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Freeholders, and all other Persons, from the Age of 18 Tears, to the Age of 60, forthwith to put themselves in Arms and Posture of Defence; and such as want Arms and Ammunition, and are able, are hereby required to provide the same forthwith, for Themselves, their Servants and Retinue. And for the better effecting this high and important Service, we do hereby Require, Order, and Command all and every the Governours, Deputy-Governours, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Head-Officers of the respective Counties, Cities, and Incorporate Towns of this Kingdom, within our Quarters, viz. the Governours, Deputy-Governours, in the Counties where they are Governours, to call to assistance the High Sheriff, and two or more of the Commissioners of the Array; and in the Counties where there is no Governour,

Governour, the High Sheriff, calling to his assistance three, or more of the Commissioners, of the Array: And in the Cities, and Corporate Towns, the Mayor and other Head-Officers, taking to assistance the recommended Sheriffs and Bailiff thereof, or any one or more of them, forthwith to summon all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, and Others, able and fit to bear Arms, between the Ages aforesaid, to appear well armed upon a certain Day, and in a certain Place, within the said respective Counties and Towns respectively, and upon such Appearance, to enlist the Names, Surnames, Age, Arms, and Ammunition of every Person, who will so appear, in a Book fairly written, and the said Governour, Deputy-Governours, Mayors, High Sheriffs, and other Head-Officers, taking to their assistance, as aforesaid, are hereby required and authorized to impose Fines, to the double Value of the Arms and Ammunition, upon any Person or Persons so summoned, that will make default, who ought to have according to the meaning of this our Proclamation, and of other our former Proclamations, to this Effect: And to impose the single Value of the Arms he should have, upon such as will appear, and not be armed as becometh: And We require the said Governours, and other Officers aforesaid, at their Perils to make due Return unto the general Assembly now near at hand, or unto Us, in a fair Book fairly written, of the Number, Names, Surnames, Arms, Ammunition, Defaults, and Fines aforesaid, at the furthest, by the sixth day of the Month of August,

Given at Kilkenny the 6th of July 1644.

Mount-Garret, Fz. Tho. Dublin, Antrim,
Nettervill, Arthur Iveagh, John Cloynfect,
Tho. Preston, Edmond Fitz-Morris, Rich.
Bealing, Tirlogh O Neile, Patrick Darcy.
George Comins.

Printed at *Waterford* by THO. BOURKE, Printer to the Confederate
Catholics of IRELAND.

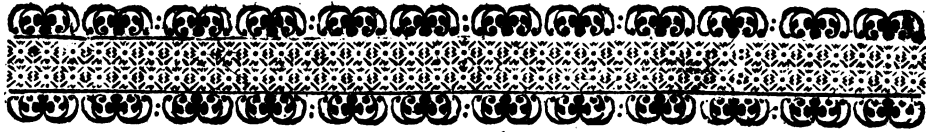
I caused this Declaration and Proclamation to be printed here in *England*; and will justify it to be their Act upon Oath.

Lazarus Haward.

My Lodging at Mr. *Stretchers* in the *Tower-Bulwark*.

But to come to the particulars of the Tryal of the Lord *Mac-Guire*; which was thus:

The



The Tryal of *Connor Lord Mac-Guire*, Feb. 10, 1644.
in the 20th Year of King *CHARLES* the First.

BY the Indictment the Prisoner at the Bar is charged, That he, together with Sir *Phil. O Neale*, *Philip O Rally*, *Roger Moore*, Esq; *Roger Mac-Guire*, Esq; *Toole O Conley* Clerk (being a Roman Priest,) *Hugh Macmahume*, and divers other Persons, false Traytors, unknown, as a false-Traytor against the King's Majesty, His Supreme Leige Lord, not having the fear of God in his Heart, nor considering his Duty or Allegiance, but being seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, intending altogether to withdraw, blot out, and extinguish the Cordial Love and due Obedience which faithful Subjects owe to their Sovereign; did on the 20th of *Oct.* 17. *Car.* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*; in the Parts beyond the Seas, and at divers other Times, both before and after, as well at *Dublin* as elsewhere, falsely, maliciously, and traiterously conspire, imagine, and compass utterly to deprive and disinherit the King's Majesty of his Royal Estate and Kingdom of *Ireland*; to bring his Majesty's Person to Death and Destruction; to raise Sedition, and breed and cause miserable Slaughter and Destruction amongst the King's Subjects throughout all the whole Kingdom; to make an Insurrection and Rebellion against the King His Sovereign; to levy publick, open, bloody, and fierce War against the King in that Kingdom; to change and alter, according to their own Wills, the Government of the Kingdom, and the Religion there establish'd, and totally to subvert the well ordered State of that Common-wealth; to procure and bring in divers Strangers and Foreigners (not being the King's Subjects) in a Warlike Manner to invade that Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to levy War there.

And in execution of these their wicked Treasons, and traiterous Conspiracies 20 *Octob.* 17. *Car.* the defendant *Connor Mac-Guire* at *Dublin*, and divers other times and places, by one *Toole O Conley*, and divers other messengers, by him sent to *Owen O Neale*, being then in *Flanders*, did move and incite *Phil. O Neale* to levy and raise an Army in *Flanders*, and thence to bring that Army over into *Ireland* in an Hostile Manner to invade that Kingdom.

And further, to put in Execution their traiterous Purposes, the Defendant, together with *Hugh Macmahone, Phil. O Neale, Philip O Rely, Roger Moore, Roger Mac-Guire*, and *Toole O Conley* the Priest, 20 Oct. 17 Car. at *Dublin*, and divers other Times and Places in *Ireland*, before and after, did traiterously conspire to enter into, seize, get into their own Power, and surprize the King's Castle at *Dublin*, and all other the King's Castles and Forts in that Kingdom, and the Magazine therein. And at the same time unlawfully and traiterously did endeavour and actually attempt to gain into their Possession and Power, and to surprize the said Castle of *Dublin*, and the Munition therein.

That the Defendant, with the other Persons named, *Philip O Neale* and others, further to bring to pass their most horrid wicked Treasons and Conspiracies, on the 22d of Octob. 17 Car. at *Charlemont* and other Places, before and after, being armed and arrayed with a great multitude in a Warlike Manner, with Banners displayed, Drums, Swords, Staves, Guns, and other invasive and defensive Weapons, did falsly and traiterously prepare and levy open, fierce, and bloody War against the King's Majesty; and the same 22d of October seized and surprized the King's Fort at *Charlemont*, and then and there maliciously and traiterously did kill and murder *Toby Lord Caulfield, Francis Davies*, and others of the King's Subjects that were Protestants.

That the Defendants, 4 Junii, 18 Car. at the Castles of *Keiligh* and *Gragan*, and other Times and Places, before and after, levied War, seized and surprized those Castles, and did kill and murder *Owen Rowell* and *William Cusens*, and many other of the King's Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom.

Which several Offences are laid against his Duty and Allegiance, against the Peace of the King's Crown and Dignity, in manifest Breach and Contempt of the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom.

The Defendant pleaded not Guilty. And being demanded how he would be tried;

The Copy of the Plea.

HE pleaded the Statute of *Magna Charta*, 10 Febr. 9. Hen. 3. That none should be condemned but by Tryal of his Peers; and pleaded the Statute of 10 Hen. 7. that all the Statutes made in *England* should from thenceforth be in force in *Ireland*.

And pleaded, that before the Time of the several Treasons charged in the Indictment, *Bryan Mac-Guire* his Father, by Letters Patents was created Baron of *Enniskillen*, in *Ireland*, to him and the Heirs Males of his Body: by Force whereof, his Father was seized of the Barony in Fee-Tail, and 1 Febr. 12 Car. died so seized; after whose Death the Barony descended to the Defendant, by Vertue whereof he was a Baron of *Ireland*. And that at a Parliament held at *Dublin*, 16 March, 16 Car. which was there

there continued till the 7th of *August* after, and then adjourned to the 9th of *Nov.* following, and then prorogued to the 24th of *Feb.* thence next following, and from thence continued till the 24 *June*, 18 *Car.*

That he was as one of the Noblemen and Peers of that Parliament; and that the 23d of *October*, 17 *Car.* he was arrested and imprisoned upon Pretence of the several Treasons in the Indictment mentioned, and there continued till the 12th of *June* 18 *Car.* when he was brought against his Will to *Westminster*, and thence committed to the Tower of *London* in strict Custody. And averred his Plea, and prayed that he might be tried and judged by his Peers in *Ireland*.

Whereunto the King's Council demurred in Law, and the Defendants joyned in the Demurrer.

Upon this Plea of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, the beginning of *Hillary Term*, Judge *Bacon* delivered his Judgment, that a Baron of *Ireland* was triable by a Jury in this Kingdom. After which, the House of Commons declared their Assent unto his Opinion in this following Vote.

Die Sabbathi, 8 Feb. 1644.

Resolved upon the Question, That the House doth approve of the Judgment given by Mr. Justice *Bacon*, in over-ruling the Plea of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and of the Manner of the Tryal upon the Indictment of High Treason in the King's Bench; and the Judge is hereby required to proceed speedily thereupon, according to Law and Justice. The Lords Concurrence to be desired herein; Master Recorder is appointed to carry it up.

Upon this Vote of the Honourable House of Commons, the House of Peers afterwards declared their Concurrence; and thereupon this ensuing Order was passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Die Lunæ, 10 Feb. 1644.

Ordere*d* by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the said Houses do approve of the Judgment given by Master Justice *Bacon*, in over-ruling the Plea of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and of the manner of the Tryal upon the Indictment of High Treason in the King's Bench; and the Judge is hereby required to proceed speedily thereupon, accordingly to Law and Justice.

John Browne, Cler. Parl.
Hen. Elfing, Cler. Parl. D. C.

HERE will be no need of making any long Preamble to this Business of the Lord *Mac-Guire* : there is none of us but have cause to be very sensible of it in some of our Blood, some dear Friend, or at least some Acquaintance in the present unhappy War ensuing this most damnable Treason, plotted by him and his Confederates ; the Particulars whereof you will find in Order, which are in themselves so Copious, and Satisfactory, that it will not need any other pointing out then the Order it lies in.

Here followeth a Proclamation Published upon the first discovery of the Plot.

A Proclamation, by the Lords JUSTICES and COUNCIL.

William Parsons. John Borlace.

THESE are to make known and publish to all his Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of Ireland, that there is a Discovery made to us the Lords Justices and Council, of a most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy intended by some evil affected Irish Papists, against the lives of Us, the Lords Justices and Council, and many others of his Majesty's faithful Subjects universally throughout this Kingdom, and for the seizing not only of his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, His Majesty's principal Fort here, but also of the other Fortifications in this Kingdom : And seeing by the great Goodness and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majesty and this State and Kingdom, those wicked Conspiracies are brought to Light, and some of the Conspirators committed to the Castle of Dublin, by Us, by his Majesty's Authority, so as those wicked and damnable Plots are now disappointed in the chief Parts thereof : We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publicly known, for the Comfort of his Majesty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but also hereby to require them that they do with all Confidence and Chearfulness betake themselves to their own Defence, and stand upon their Guard, so to render the more Safety to themselves and all the Kingdom besides, and that they advertise Us with all possible speed of all Occurrences which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to shew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always shown for the publick services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majesty accordingly, and a special Memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due Time : And We re-

Ser. Whitfield. The Prisoner hath challenged all the Jury that does appear ; twenty three appear, and he hath challenged them, and his Challenge is for Causes best known to himself, which is a peremptory Challenge. Truly, it is that which the Law doth allow, and we do not oppose it ; but we do desire that we may have another Writ returnable to morrow.

Judge. You must have a *Venire facias*.

Ser. Whitfield. This Cause is a Cause of very great weight, there are many Witnesses that have long attended in Court, we are informed, that some of them are gone away into *Ireland* ; that there is the Sheriff of *Dublin*, and some others that are now present in Court, that cannot be here, if we should defer this Tryal, as the Prisoner doth desire : and we do desire that it may be referred till to morrow, we shall be ready to give in Evidence against him.

Judge. He hath spent three Days this Term already, this is the fourth : we would have proceeded now, but for his peremptory Challenge ; but if we stay till to morrow, he must be content to be tried by a meaner Jury.

Mr. Prynn. This being a publick Case, we desire a speedy Progress in it : our Witnesses have been long detained here, and cannot attend till the next Term, some of them being to depart within two Days.

Judge. A publick Case must have publick Justice on both sides : for your Witnesses, you shall stay your Witnesses here. We must do that which the Law doth allow.

Ser. Whitfield. The Law does allow of his peremptory Challenge ; we desire to have a new Writ, and that it may be returnable to morrow. For the doing of it, we shall leave it to those that are to prosecute it, and to the Sheriff. We see that this Cause cannot be tried this Day, we desire we may have a speedy End of it ; there have been many Days spent in it, and we that are of Counsel for the King, do desire, that we may confer together, departing the Court for some Time, and when we have conferred together, we will return to the Court again, and then we will propound to you what Course we do desire for the speedy Tryal of this Cause.

To this Motion the Judge assented, and *Ser. Whitfield* and the rest of the Counsel went to consult together about it ; and after a short stay, upon their Return, *Ser. Whitfield* spake thus :

Ser. Whitfield. We that are Counsel for the King, have consulted together with the Clerk of the Crown, and the Secretary ; we have withdrawn our selves, and perused several Presidents, and we do find by several Presidents, that whereas a peremptory Challenge shall be, it is in the Power of the Court to order the Course of Tryal, and the Course is this : There goes a Writ to the Sheriff, that he shall distrain all them that make Default, and that he shall amove those that are challenged by the Prisoner ; and further, that he shall return so many more for the Tryal.

This

This we conceive to be the constant Course of this Court; and in this Case my Lord *Mac-Guire* having challenged 23 of the 24 we are to dis- strain the other that made Default, and to amove the 23. that he hath challenged of them, and have a *Tales* returnable to morrow for a new Jury.

Ser. Roll. That was in *Standish's* Case, and *Friar's* Case.

Judge. I know the Court may grant a *Tales*, but the matter is, whether it can be done so soon as to morrow or no, if the Sheriff can do it to morrow.

Ser. Whitfield. We do find this in the President of *Friar*, that in 3 Hen. 7. the Jury did appear on *Friday*, and all those that did appear were challenged, and there was a *Disfringas* returned the next Day, which was *Saturday*. It may be *immediatè*.

Judge. Then make your *Disfringas* against to morrow morning, make out a *Quadrageinta Tales* against to morrow.

Mac. I desire I may not be so severely dealt with.

Judge. It hath been so oftentimes, and the Court doth proceed in these Cases *de die in diem*, from day to day; and there is no difficulty in the granting of it, but whether the Sheriff can return it so soon.

If the King's Council will have it to morrow, the other Businesses of the Court must be put off.

Hereupon the Prisoner was discharged, and a Rule granted to the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring him again the next day.

ON Tuesday *Febr. 11.* the Lord *Mac-Guire* was again brought to the King's-Bench Bar, where he made a Motion that his Plea of Peerage might be referred to another Court. To which it was answered.

Ser. Whitfield. We know not for what End this Motion is, and we know this, that this is no time for my Lord to make this Request; for you know how far we have proceeded: he hath been arraigned, and indicted of high Treason, and one Jury he challenged, the other is returned, so as now he is in the Way of his Tryal; we are now to proceed with such Evidence as we have, to prosecute instantly. We do not desire this to be produced again, and if it be, we know not how it could be material one way or other.

After this the Lord *Mac-Guire* further urged the Court to the former Purpose: to which it was answered, that he was then brought to his Tryal as a Prisoner upon the Indictment, and that both the Lords and Commons had approved of the Opinion of the Court therein.

Mac. Please you Sir, One Word more: I desire to appeal to the Lords.

Ser. Whitfield. When one is come here, to appeal to the Lords, that was never known: now you have put your self upon the Country.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive I may, to an higher Court.

Judge.

Judge. It cannot be granted, the Lords approved it: if you would have gone to an higher Court before, you might have taken your Course; now the Jury is returned, and you are appointed to be tried here.

After this the Lord *Mac-Guire* desired further to Appeal, to which the Answer was:

Ser. Whit. Here lies no such Appeal here, you are out of the Ecclesiastical Court, there is no such Plea here; you are now upon the middle of your Tryal, we desire you may go on, you have challenged 23. of the Jury already.

Judge. We have no such Course in the Common Law; if a Man will Appeal from me, I cannot let him Appeal to any Man.

Upon this, these of the Jury following were named, which he challenged: *viz.*

George Hanger, Esq;
Sir Michael Wharton,
James Hawley, Esq;
George Smith Esq;
Edmund Besley Esq;
William Ewrsby, Esq;

Stephen Bourman Gent.
George Weaver-Basset,
J. Nicolls the younger,
Henry Walker, Gent.
Randolph Nicoll,
Andrew Brent.

Upon his challenging of these, which being added to the rest, make 35 in all, the other Jury being about to be called, the Lord *Mac-Guire* moved:

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, that my Lands being sequestred, those Men that have bought my Lands, should not pass upon my Tryal; and therefore I desire they may make Answer to it upon Oath, whether any of them have adventured or no.

Ser. Whitfield. To desire, that a whole Jury may be demanded such a Question upon their Oath, is that that hath not been known. If my Lord *Mac-Guire* have Cause now against any, he hath run out the Liberty which the Law gave him, to challenge 35 peremptorily. Now if he should challenge any more, he must make a particular Challenge to every particular Man that comes to be sworn, and he must have such a Challenge notwithstanding as is warrantable by Law; but this general Challenge is not warrantable by Law, and if it were particular, it were not warrantable neither.

Ser. Roll. If you will challenge any more, the Law does not debar you to shew Cause.

Mac. I conceive, that any that have given Money for Ireland for my Destruction, ought not to pass against me.

Ser. Whit. This is for the King, this is for no particular Person whatsoever.

Mac. I beseech you hear me in it.

Judge.

Judge. You know this, that the King cannot grant it without the Consent of both Houses, and in this Case it may be put to the Jury to try upon their Oath. Thus far I shall agree, that if any of this Jury be to have any particular Benefit in *Ireland*, of Land or Goods by his Attainder, it is good; but if his Lands come to the King, and that the King is no Way bound to give it to any of them, it is no Challenge: Look the Statute.

M. Prymme. Under Favour, Mr. Justice *Bacon*, it doth not appear to the Court that the Prisoner hath any Lands or Goods in *Ireland*; and therefore no such Question is to be demanded of the Jury.

Judge. You may make needless Disputes upon it.

Then the Jury being accordingly required to answer upon Oath, whether they had adventured, or had any Share in *Ireland* for the Rebels Land; *Mac-Guire* desired the Question might be, whether they themselves, their Children, or Brothers? But that would not be agreed unto, as being unreasonable. Then the Jury following was sworn:

I. Carpenter,
John Cooper,
A. Cordall,
Rich. Atkinson,
Josias Hendall,
William Greenwood,



William Barnes,
Robert Stiles,
George Norfolk,
Edw. Hudson,
John Wait,
Esab Risby.

The Oath which they took, was this:

You shall well and truly try, and true Deliverance make, between our Sovereign Lord the King, and Connor Mac-Guire, Esq; now Prisoner at the Bar, and a true Verdict give according to your Evidence.

The Jury being sworn, *Mac-Guire* moved that he might have a Jury of 24; to which it was assented;

Judge. There have been 40 named.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, I ought to be tried by 24; there were so many returned at first.

Judge. They returned 24; that is, because if any of them did fail, and some may be challenged, then there might be 12 left.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, there should be 24 now left for my Trial.

Judge. You are deceived in that. You challenged 23, and so there were 40 more added; now you have challenged 12 of this 40, and out of them there remains so many as will make up a Jury of 12.

Then the Court proceeded to his Trial, and the Indictment against him was read. After which, the Court proceeded, saying:

F f

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the Jury, Upon this Indictment he hath been arraigned, and to his Arraignment he hath pleaded, *Not Guilty*, and thereupon put himself upon his Country; and your Charge is, to enquire whether he be guilty of the Indictments, or any of them: If you find him *Not Guilty*, you are to declare it; if *Guilty*, then you are to give in Evidence against him.

M. N. Mr. Judge Bacon. You observe by the Record that hath been read to you, that the Prisoner at the Bar stands indicted of several Treasons, wherein it is found, That *Connor Mac-Guire*, &c. as before in the Indictment. Now, Gentlemen, you of the Jury, if it shall be proved to you, that the Prisoner at the Bar is guilty of all, or any of these Treasons, then you are to give your Evidence.

Then these Witnesses following were fworn to give in Evidence against the Prisoner:

The Lord Blaney,	}	{	Sir Francis Hamilton,	}	{	John Carmicks,
Lady Caulfield,			Sir Edward Borlacey,			Walter Gubson,
Sir Arthur Loftus,			Sir William Cole,			M. Bumbury,
Sir John Temple,			Sir Charles Coot,			Capt. Mich. Balfoure,
Sir William Stewart,			Mrs. Wordrofe,			Captain Berisford.

Sir William Cole's Testimony.

Ser. Whitfield. You know (*Sir William Cole*) a great many of their Names, which you have heard that were Conspirators with this Lord; what Religion were they of?

Sir W. Cole. They were all Papists.

Ser. Whitfield. Who were they?

Sir W. Cole. The Lord *Mac-Guire*, Sir *Phil. O Neale*, *Roger Moore*, &c.

Ser. Whitfield. Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Upon what Occasion was it, that the Conspirators got an Order to view the Magazine?

Sir F. Hamilton. I was a Member of the House of Commons there, and I remember very well, there came a Message from the House of Lords to the House of Commons, to let them know, that there was some Plot for the blowing up of the Parliament House in *Ireland*, and they sent a Message, to desire that they might search under the Parliament-House: And there was a Search made, and (as I remember) the Lord *Mac-Guire* was one of the Committee from the House of Lords made Search there; but what they found, I do not know. Afterwards they desired that they might search the Castle of *Dublin*, and other Magazines.

Counsel. What was the Cause?

Sir F. Hamilton. There was a Coachman of my Lord of *Strafford's* that had uttered some big Words, (as was given out) That the Parliament House should be blown up; but what was the Ground, I am perswaded in my Conscience, it was to know where the Store and Ammunition lay, that they might know where to surprize it.

Sir William Steward's Testimony.

I was one of the Committee that was sent by the Parliament, and by Order from the House of Lords, to search the Parliament House, and the Lord *Mac-Guire* was one of the Lords: They made a very strict Search, and then they enquired for the King's Magazine, and I believe my Lord *Mac-Guire* now here was one of the Committee that went to search for the House of Lords, and he did search very narrowly, and they were desirous to know where the Store was.

The Lord Blaney's Testimony.

Counsel. Whether this Search were moved by the Lord *Fingball* and what was the End of it?

L. Blaney. So near as I can, I will give you the Business, it is so long ago. This I remember, that there was one of the Lords House, whether it were my Lord *Fingball*, or my Lord *Macarys* moved it, I cannot certainly depose, but I am sure it was one of them. The Occasion was, one of the Earl of *Strafford's* Coachmen said, he hoped to see some of the Lords blown up for it; it was about a Fortnight after the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded here. Thereupon they got an Order for it, and so they went down, and they did not find the Powder, but they made as narrow a Search as ever any was. I asked what the meaning was of this, for we had strange Censures of it our selves. Says of them, the Lord *Clamorris*, they are afraid of a Powder-Plot of the Protestants. I answered, that I had heard of a Powder-Plot of the Papists, but never of the Protestants in my Life. But if you ask the Reason of it, it was to assure themselves of their Strength, for we found by woful Experience afterwards, it was their End. My Lord *Borlace* said, let them not be afraid, for upon my Honour there is no Powder below. It is a great House, the House of Commons sit on one side, and the Lords on the other, and the Block-House in the middle.

Counsel. What Religion is my Lord *Fingball*, and my Lord *Clamorris* of?

L. Blaney. The Lord *Fingball* is a Papist, and *Clamorris* a pestiferous Papist!

Sec. Whitfield. All Papists! we shall now read the Examination of the manner of his taking, and then his own Examination.

The first we shall read, is this of Mr. ~~Woodcock~~, that was Sheriff of *Dublin*; he was in Town, but he could not stay, but he was examined before this Court.

The Information of John Woodcock the 27th of October, 1644. taken upon Oath before Justice Bacon.

THE said Examine depoleth and saith, That he, being one of the Sheriffs of the said City of *Dublin*, in the Year 1641, having Notice given him in the Night; upon the 22d of *October* in the same Year, of some great Design intended, did by virtue of his Office walk up and down the City that Night; and coming to the House of one *Nevill*, a Chirurgeon in *Castle-Street*, he understood by the said *Nevill*, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* with some 10. or 12. others were there: This Examine told him, it was fit for his Guests to be in Bed at that Time of Night; but the said *Nevill* did bring this Examine word, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* and his Company were then going to Bed. The said Examine departed, setting a Watch near his House; by which Watch he was informed, that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* and the rest were gone from the House, and were at the House of one *Kerne*, a Taylor: Whereupon he searched the said House, and there found some Hatchets with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, five Petronels, five or six Swords, three or four small Pistols, five or six Skeins, with other Arms of the Lord *Mac-Guire's* in an House of Office in the said House; in another Place divers Pole-Axes, and also behind a Hen-Roost some great Weapons with sharp Pikes of Iron in one End of them, the said *Kerne* affirming that he knew nothing of any of the Particulars before mentioned, nor how they came in his House. The said Examine shewed all the said Instruments unto the said Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*; and thereupon the said Lords Justices and Council, commanded Search to be made for the said Lord *Mac-Guire*: Upon which the said Examine, searching narrowly for him, at last found him in a Cock-Loft, with a Cloak wrapt about him; standing by a Bed, the Door lockt upon him, there being no Key to be found; as also the Master of the House flying away, and making an Escape to the Enemy.

After this, the Lord *Mac-Guire's* own Examination was read, taken the 26th of *March*, 1642. (for as Sir *John Temple* declared to the Court, the Lord *Mac-Guire* was then brought to the Council-Board, and they could get nothing out of him) whereupon he was sent back to Prison for that Time.

The Examination of Connor Lord Mac-Guire, Baron of Enniskillen, taken before us, Charles Lord Lambert, and Sir Robert Meredith, Knight, Chancellor of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer, the 26th Day of March, 1642. by Direction of the Right Honourable the Lords Justices and Council.

WH O being examined, saith, That about the Time when Mr. John Bellow came out of England with the Commission for the continuance of the present Parliament, Roger Moore in the said Moore's Chamber in the House of one Peter de Costres of this City, acquainted him, this Examinee, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own Condition, for the regaining of their own Lands, and Freedom of their Religion. At which time the said Moore also acquainted him this Examinee, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster*, who would be ready for that Purpose, and withal told him, this Examinee, that he was assured a good Part of *Connaught* would do the like; and thereupon moved this Examinee to joyn likewise with them, with all he could make: Unto which Motion he, this Examinee, yielded. And the next Day following there was a meeting in his, the said Moore's Chamber, aforesaid; where were Col. Mac-Bryan, Mac-mabone, Tirlagh O Neale, Philip Mac-Hugh O Rely, this Examinee, and Roger Moore; where Discourse was had on that Business, yet nothing concluded on, save that Roger Moore and the rest should go and prepare their Parties. And this Examinee further saith, That about May last, &c, this Examinee, Roger Moore, Philip O Rely, and Roger Mac-Guire, this Examinee's Brother, dispatched a Priest, one Toole O Conley, who lived in *Leinster*, unto Owen O Neale, into *Flanders*, to acquaint him with the Business concerning the general Rebellion then in Preparation; which said Priest returned about a Month before the Time appointed for Execution thereof. And the Answer which the said Priest brought from the said Owen O Neale was, That he would (within fifteen Days after the People were up) be with him, with his best Assistance and Arms. And it being demanded why the said Owen should bring Arms, considering that the Castle of *Dublin* was to be taken, with the Arms therein; this Examinee answered, that they so provided for Arms, that they might not want any, in Case they could not take the said Castle, whereof they doubted. And this Examinee acknowledgeth, that the Castle of *Dublin* was to have been surpris'd by himself, Capt. Brian O Neale, Capt. Con O Neale, Capt. Mac-mabone, one Owen O Rely, Roger Moore, Hugh Macmabone, Col. Plunket, and Capt. Fox; and likewise further acknowledgeth, that Hugh Mac-Pherson, Capt. Con O Neale, and Bryan O Neale, brought from Owen O Neale, out of *Flanders*, the very same Message which the said Priest brought. And this Examinee

Examine further saith, that he was told by *Roger Moore*, that a great Man was in the Plot, but he might not name him for the present. And at another Time, and during the sitting of the Parliament the last Summer, he, this Examinee, was informed by one *John Barnwell*, a Franciscan Friar, then resident in this City, that those of the *Pale* were also privy unto the Plot, (meaning the present Rebellion.) And lastly saith, That of those Persons who came to attend him, this Examinee, for the Surprise of the said Castle of *Dublin*, only *Cobonogh Mac-Guire* was privy unto the Business in Hand; and that the last meeting (when the Day appointed for Execution thereof was resolved on) was at *Logh-Rosse*, where were present only *Ever Macmahone*, Vicar General of the Diocess of *Clogher*; *Thomas Mac-Kearnan*, a Friar of *Dundalke*, *Sir Phelim O Neale*, *Roger Moore*, and *Bryan O Neale*.

Concordat cum Originali.

Ex. per Parl. Harris.

Charles Lambert.

Robert Meredith.

This being read, and opened unto the Jury, being the Lord *Mac-Guire's* free and voluntary Confession, which he afterwards acknowledged since his coming to the Tower, viz.

Memorandum, That this within written being shewed and read unto the within named Lord *Mac-Guire*, and himself having perused the same, his Lordship did acknowledge the same to be true in all Things, saving that he doth not now acknowledge that *Barnard* told him, that those of the *Pale* were privy to the Plot; neither doth acknowledge that *Cobonogh Mac-Guire* was privy to the Plot before his coming to *Dublin*.

This Examination and Acknowledgment was made and taken the 22d Day of June 1642. Anno Regni Caroli Regis decimo Octavo, before Us.

John Bramstone, Thomas Mallet.

In the Presence of

*John Conyers,
William Ayloffe,
Nathaniel Finch.*

June 24. 1642. The Examination of Connor Lord Mac-Guire, Baron of Enniskillen, taken before Sir John Bramstone, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

WHO saith, That he is of the Age of 26 Years and upwards, and that he was born in the County of *Fermanagh* in *Ireland*; and saith, that his Examination taken at *Dublin* the 26th Day of *March*, 1642. before

Charles

Charles Lord Lambert, and Sir Robert Meredith, with his Acknowledgment thereof the 22d of June, before Judge Bramstone, and Justice Mallet, is true in such manner as in the said Examination and Acknowledgment is expressed.

Connor Mac-Guire.

The Examination of Cornelius Mac-Guire, Lord Baron of Enniskillen in Ireland, taken before Isaac Pennington, Esq; Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and Lawrence Whitaker, Esq; two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the County of Middlesex, the first Day October, 1641.

HE denieth the receiving of any Letters or Messages out of *England* before the Rebellion, nor did he ever hear of any. He saith, he was but a mean Instrument in the Design in *Ireland*; he confesseth, he intended to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Magazine there, and keep it till they had Redress of some Grievances, which they purposed to propound to the Parliament there; one whereof was, to have a Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion. He confesseth, that he came accidentally to *Philip O'Rely's* House, as he came up to *Dublin*; and, as he remembreth, *Macmahone* was then there, and that his Intention of coming up to *Dublin*, was to put the aforesaid Design in Execution, and that then and there, they had Speech about that Design; but he remembreth not the Particulars: Which Design was to be put in Execution the 23d Day of *October* in that Year; and that he was taken there, that very Day, being *Saturday*, upon Search made for him, carried before the Lords Justices, Examined, Committed, and sent over into *England*.

He saith further, that he made his Escape out of the Tower of *London* upon Sunday the 18th of *August* last, about Four of the Clock in the Morning.

Lawrence Whitaker, Isaac Pennington.

John Garmicks's Testimony.

THAT upon the 21st of *October*, 1641. *Fergus O Howen*, one of the Followers of *Brian Mac-Guire*, Esq; came to his Chamber in the Castle of *Enniskillen*, and after he had endeavoured to bind him to keep secret a Matter of great Concernment, which *Fergus* said he had to disclose, and particularly to conceal it from *Sir William Cole*, and all other *Englishmen*; This Examinee told him, he would be secret so far as it went with his Allegiance and Conscience. He discovered unto the said Examinee, that the Lord *Mac-Guire* and *Hugh Oge Macmahone*, accompanied with several *Irishmen* of the Counties of *Fermanagh* and *Monaghan*, did take their Journeys out of the said Counties upon the 19th and 20th Days of

of *October*, 1641. to the City of *Dublin*, with Resolution and Intent to murder and kill His Highness's Lords Justices and Council of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Protestants there; and also to possess themselves of the City of *Dublin*, and to put all the Protestants there likewise to the Sword: And that to that Effect there were other great Men, and others of the Papists of that Kingdom to repair unto, and meet them in *Dublin* on Saturday, 23 *October* 1641. or thereabouts; and that all the Castles, Forts, Sea-Ports and Holds that were in the Possession of the Protestants in the several Counties and Provinces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, were then also designed and resolved to be surpris'd and taken by the *Irish* Papists; and the Protestants in every of those Castles, Forts, Sea-Ports and Holds, to be then also put off to the Sword by the *Irish* Papists in *Ireland* in their own several Parts and Limits, by Men thereunto chiefly and particularly appointed by the Contrivers thereof: And that especially the Town and Castle of *Enniskillen*, with the rest, would be taken, and and all the Protestants in it put to the Sword; and therefore advised the Examinee to get himself and Goods out of the Town: Whereat the Examinee smiling, *Fergus* bid him not to slight it, for he could assure those Things would come to pass in seven Days, or else he would be bound to lose his Head. Whereupon the said *Fergus O Horwen* departed, and the Examinee acquainting Sir *William Cole* with it, there came one *Flartagh Mac-Hugh*, a Gentleman and Freeholder of that County, and affirms to the same Effect to Sir *William Cole*, that the Plot for surpris'ing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, the Castle of *Enniskillen*, and all the Castles and Strengths in *Ireland*, was to be put in full Execution by the Papists *October* 22 and 23, 1641. throughout the said Kingdom; and that *Brian Mac-Conaught Mac-Guire*, Esq; did send him the said *Flartagh Mac-Hugh* to give Notice and Warning thereof to the said Sir *William Cole*, whom he earnestly desired to be upon his Guard upon Friday the 22d and Saturday the 23d of *October*; for the Lord *Mac-Guire* was gone with *Macmabone* and others that Week with Purpose to possess themselves of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, and the Lord *Mac-Guire* had written his Letters to *Con O Bourke*, *Owen O Roreicke*, *Martagh Oge O Fantagon*, and others, to go on with that Plot in those Parts; and had appointed his Brother *Rory Mac-Guire* (in his Absence) to command the *Irish* Papists in the County of *Fermanagh*, for the surpris'ing of the Castles and Houses of the Protestants. Of all which Sir *William* advertised the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland* the same Day. And this Examinee saith, that Captain *Mac-Hugh*, seven or eight Days before the Rebellion brake forth, declared, That the Lord *Mac-Guire* posted Letters, and rode up and down to divers Gentlemen, and others of that County, to be very Active in the Business. That it was averred upon the Oaths of *Flartagh Mac-Hugh*,

Mac-Hugh, *John Oge Mac-Hugh*, and *Terlagh Oge Mac-Hugh*, before the said Sir *William Cole*; that one hundred and fifty Men were appointed to surprize the Castle of *Emiskillen*, under the leading of *Don Mac-Guire*, and *Rori Mac-Guire*, who were to murder the said Sir *William Cole*, and his Wife, Children, and Servants, and throw them over the Wall into the River, and then to do the like unto the Protestants in the Town and Corporation of *Emiskillen*: For which Service they were not only to have the Spoil and Riches of the said Castle and Town, but to have also the Barony of *Glanawley* granted and confirmed in Fee to them and their Heirs, from the said Lord *Mac-Guire* and his Heirs. The Examinee then also produced a Letter written in *Irish*, from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to his Cousin *Brian Mac-Guire*, wherein taking Notice, that he was abundantly inclined to the *English*, which did very much trouble him; and therefore desired him to banish such Thoughts out of his Mind, and not to pursue those Resolutions which in the End might be his own Destruction, as he thought it would be to all those that did not appear.

Presently after, upon the 29th of *October*, one Captain *Rori Mac-Guire* took upon him the managing of all Businesses in his Absence; he fortifies first the Castle *Hasten*; the House wherein he dwelt himself, he took in the Castle of one *Edward Aldrith*, Esq; he put out all the *English* there; he went to the Town, burnt that, but kill'd none of the Men; went thence to another Place, and hanged one *Eleazar M.* one that was Clark of the Peace of the County; and from thence he went to *Newtown*, four Miles off from it, took in the Town, stript and disarmed all the Protestants that were in the Church, the next Day after marched away, and killed and destroyed most of the *English* in those Parts; murdered *Arthur Champion*, Esq; and many more. Twenty Two Castles were seized upon, and the Church of *Monah*, with 18 Protestants burnt in it: 764 Protestants were destroyed in that County; and I did hear there was about 152000, that they had destroyed in that Province of *Ulster*, in the first four Months of the Rebellion.

John Carmick.

Then Sir *William Cole* (being present in Court) gave in his Evidence, much to the same Effect as in *Carmick's* Testimony.

Ser. Whitfield. We desire to shorten, we have a great many Witnesses; we shall go upon these Particulars. First, Captain *O Neale's* landing in *Ireland*, and what he brought with him. Secondly, *Keilagh* and *Cragan*. Lastly, how long besieged, and how many murdered:

Then *Sir William Steward* gave in Testimony to this Effect :

That *Con Owen O Neale* landed in *July* the same Year the Rebellion began, brought many Commanders, much Arms and Ammunition; many of his Commanders, Nine of the chief of them, were taken Prisoners at one Battle:

Ser. Whitfield. It is his own Confession, That he sent a Priest over to fetch Arms to come into *Ireland*.

[Then the *Lady Caulfield* was desired to declare her Knowledge concerning the taking of *Charlemont-Castle*.]

Lady Caulfield. The 23d of *October*, 1641. *Sir Phelim O Neale* and others came into the Castle; they seized upon all, murdered his Servants; and those that were alive, they bound them, and put them in Prison; and at that time, *Sir Phelim O Neale* himself, and other of his Companions, told her, That *Dublin Castle and City, and most other Forts of Ireland* were surpris'd by their Confederates the Papists; and that he was sorry for his Cousin the *Lord Mac-Guire*, and that he was afraid he was taken.

Ser. Whitfield. What was done with my *Lord Caulfield*?

Lady Caulfield. He was murdered; he beg'd for his Life, and they durst not but do it.

Ser. Whitfield. When *Sir Phelim O Neale* had taken my *Lord Caulfield*, then they got this Lady to write to the *Lords Justices*, that my *Lord Mac-Guire* might be exchanged for her Son, but that would not be; and thereupon they murdered my *Lord Caulfield*, *Francis Davies*, and others.

Mrs. Mary Wordrofe's Testimony.

That he came on *Friday Night* about 10 or 11 a Clock, to break into the Castle; I hearing the Noise, asked what was the matter? I went to call up some of our Gentlemen; when I came in again, they had taken some of our Gentlemen, and bound them.

She also testified the murdering of the *Lord Caulfield*, *Francis Davies*, and others; and the former Words concerning the *Lord Mac-Guire*.

Ser. Whitfield. These two Witnesses prove that of *Charlemont*, how far the Rebels owned the *Lord Mac-Guire*, as to endeavour his Exchange. We shall now come to the other Castles, how long they besieged them, and who was murdered.

Water Gibson's Testimony.

They besieged it a quarter of a Year before they took it; divers of the chief Conspirators, and *Powell*, and *Cesare*, took the Castle by Force in an hostile manner.

Sir

Sir Francis Hamilton's Testimony.

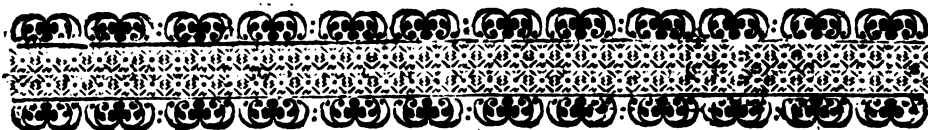
Philip O'Rely came to the Castle, to *Keilagh* and *Cragan* Castles, and they lay before it a quarter of a Year, with 2000 or 3000 Men, sometimes 1500, but never less.

Sir Charles Coor's Testimony concerning the Generality of the Rebellion.

Sir Phelim O'Neale and *Roger Moore* were the Actors in the Massacres, and by publick Directions of some in Place, and of the Titulary Bishops, for the sending of an exact Account of what Persons were murdered throughout all *Ulster*, a fourth Part of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the Parish Priests in every Parish; and they sent in a particular Account of it, and the Account was, 104700 in one Province, in the first three Months of the Rebellion.

Ser. Whitfield. What say you concerning the General Council, and the Pope's Bull.

Sir Charles Coor. The Supreme Council they took up a new Form of Government upon them of their own; and by this Authority it was granted to the *Lady Mac-Guire*, that she should have the Rent of such Lands in Recompence of the Loss that he was at in their Causes. They have made several Judges of their own Courts: They Print, they Coin, they do all in their own Names.



The Copy of the Pope's Bull.

Ad futuram Rei Memoriam.

Urbanus Octavus, &c.



HAVING taken into our serious Consideration the great Zeal of the *Irish* towards the propagating of the Catholick Faith, and the Piety of the Catholick Warriors in the several Armies of that Kingdom, (which was for that singular Fervency in the true Worship of God, and notable Care had formerly in the like Case, by the Inhabitants thereof, for the Maintenance and Preservation of the same Orthodox Faith, called of old, *The Land of Saints*;) and having got certain Notice how, in Imitation of their Godly and Worthy Ancestors, they endeavour by Force of Arms to deliver their thrall'd Nation from the Oppressions, and grievous Injuries of the Hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate, and totally root out those Workers of Iniquity, who in the Kingdom of *Ireland* had infected, and always striving to infect the Mass of Catholick Purity, with the pestiferous Leaven of their Heretical Contagion: We therefore being willing to cherish them with the Gifts of those Spiritual Graces, whercof by God we are ordained the only disposers on Earth, by the Mercy of the same Almighty God, trusting in the Authority of the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; and by Vertue of that Power of binding and loosing of Souls, which God was pleas'd (without our deserving) to confer upon us; To all and every one of the faithful Christians in the foresaid Kingdom of *Ireland* now, and for the Time militating against the Hereticks, and other Enemies of the Catholick Faith, they being truly and sincerely penitent, after Confession, and the Spiritual Refreshing of themselves with the Sacred Communion of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, do grant a full and plenary Indulgence, and absolute Remission for all their Sins, and such as in the holy Time of Jubilee,

lee, is usual to be granted to those that devoutly visit a certain Number of privileged Churches, within and without the Walls of our City of *Rome*: by the Tenour of which present Letters, for once only and no more, we freely bestow the Favour of this Absolution, upon all and every one of them; and withal, desiring heartily all the faithful in *Christ*, now in Arms as aforesaid, to be Partakers of this most precious Treasure.

To all and every one of these foresaid faithful Christians, we grant License, and give Power to choose into themselves, for this Effect, any fit Confessor, whether a secular Priest, or a Regular of some Order; as likewise any other selected Person approved of by the Ordinary of the Place: Who, after a diligent hearing of their Confessions, shall have power to liberate and absolve them from Excommunication, Suspension, and all other Ecclesiastical Sentences and Censures, by whomsoever, or for what Cause soever pronounced, or inflicted upon them; as also from all Sins, Trespases, Transgressions, Crimes and Delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever they be, not omitting those very Enormities in the most peculiar Cases which by any whatsoever former Constitutions of ours; or of our Predecessor Popes (than which we will have these to be no less valued in every Point) were designed to be reserved to the Ordinary, or to the Apostolick See, from all which the Confessor shall hereby have Power granted him to absolve the foresaid Catholics at the Bar of Conscience, and in that Sense only. And furthermore, we give them power to exchange what Vow or Vows soever they were formerly stricken to, (those of Religion, and Chastity excepted) into any other pious and good Work or Works, imposed or to be imposed on them, and every one of them to perform in all the aforesaid Cases by a wholesome Penance, according to the Mind and Will of the Confessor.

Therefore, by the Tenour of these present Letters, and by the Virtue of that Holy strict Obedience, wherein all Christians are bound unto Us, we Charge and Command all and every one of the Reverend Brethren, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Prelates, and whatsoever Ordinaries of Places now residing in *Ireland*, together with all Vicars, Substitutes and Officials under them; or these failing, We command all such to whom in those Places the Care of Souls is incumbent; that as soon as they shall have received the Copies of these our Letters, they shall forthwith without any Stop or Delay, publish them, and cause them to be published throughout all their Churches, Diocesses, Provinces, Countries, Cities, Towns, Lands, Villages, and Places whatsoever.

Nevertheless, we do not intend by these present Letters, where any publick or secret Irregularity is made known, or any Defection, Apostacy, Incapacity or Inability in any manner of way contracted, to dispense therewith, or grant to any other, any Power or Faculty of Dispensation, Rehabilitation,

habilitation, or restoring the Delinquent to his former Condition, though but at the Bar of Conscience: Neither can nor should these our ~~present~~ Letters avail or be steadable to those, who by us and the Apostolick See, or by any Prelate or Ecclesiastick Judge, have been excommunicated, suspended, interdicted, or declared, and publicly denounced to have justly incurred the Sentences and Censures of the Church, till first they have satisfied and agreed with the Parties therein concerned, notwithstanding all other Constitutions and Apostolical Ordinations; whereby, nevertheless, the Faculty of Absolution in these, as well as other expressed Cases is so referred to his Holiness, the Pope, for the Time being, that no kind of Jubilee nor Power of granting such Indulgences can in any sort avail, unless express mention be made of the Fault or Faults in particular, and the whole Tenour of them fully deduced by an individual Relation from Word to Word, and not by general Clauses importing the same thing. This, or some other requisite Form of the like Nature being carefully observed, we in that Case especially, expressly, and namely, by the Effect of these Presents, do totally abolish and remit them all and every one of them their Offences, notwithstanding any Thing to the contrary.

Now that these principal Letters of ours, which cannot be conveniently brought to every Place, may the sooner come to the Notice of all, Our Will and Pleasure is, that any whatsoever Copies or Transcripts, whether Written or Printed, that are subscribed by the Hand of a publick Notary, and which have the Seal of some eminent Person in Ecclesiastical Dignity affixed thereunto, be of the same Force, Power, and Authority, and have the like Credit in every Respect given unto them, as would be to those our principal Letters, if they were shewed and exhibited.

Dated at *Rome* in the Vatican, or *St. Peter's Palace*, the 27th of *May*, 1643. and in the 20th Year of our Pontificate.

M. A. Maraldus.

Ser. Whitfield. We have troubled you with a long Relation of the Actions of the Confederates with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, though not done in his own Person, and his own particular Act; but for this that was done by the Generality, I heard my Lord say at the Bar, What is that to me? Yes, my Lord, This is to you; you were one of the Conspirators in the first Plot, and you contrived the Business. And that had been Treason alone, to send the Priest to fetch *Owen O Neale* into *Ireland*, with Arms and Soldiers: But you contrived this, and conspired it, and you are as guilty in Law, of all these cruel Murders, and Burnings in every place:

For

For the Law of *England* is, in Treason you are all Principals, no Accessaries. Your Son was there, your Lady is rewarded; for the supreme Council they have taken Care of you: Why! Because you were one of the first Completers of it; and this will light upon you, and fall very heavy. And for your Exchange, it was propounded for the Lord *Caulfield*; but when they could not have that agreed upon, then what becomes of the poor Lord *Caulfield*? murdered too! And you see what Encouragement you have from the Completers, and from the Devil too; for they were both together in it. And now you have seen the Indictment fully made good.

Then the Lord *Mac-Guire* proceeded to make his Defence, wherein he first of all denied his Examination, (altho' testified as before by so many credible Witnesses) and said, that he knew no such Examination.

That at the Time of his Apprehension at *Dublin*, he came about his own particular Occasions, as his Estate was in Danger, if he did not follow it; that because he was found about the City, he was therefore apprehended; That his Lodging was not within the City, but he lodged without the City; That he did lodge at Mr. *Nevill's* House formerly, but not at this Time; That for some of the Places mentioned, where he should be about the Conspiracy, he had not been there a Year before, he was certain of it. For the Number of Protestants that were mentioned to be slain, he said he did not think there were so many Protestants in the whole Kingdom. That he was continually either at his own House, or at *Dublin*, and knew nothing of the Plot but by Hear-say.

Judge. You confess in your Examination, when the Day was for the rising, that you were in the Conspiracy, and appointed for the taking of *Dublin* Castle; and that you were taken when you came about it: Also you rode about it, and provided Arms.

Mac. I was in the House in the Cock-loft where I was taken; I did not know where any Army was.

Ser. Whisfield. My Lord *Mac-Guire* does forget himself, what he acknowledges under his own Hand.

Then the Examination being shewed him, he said, There is my Name but not my Hand.

Judge. I am sorry to hear it; I did rather expect, that you should have acknowledged it; Here are two able Witnesses that can testify it against you; your denying your own Hand, which is so manifestly proved, will be a great Discredit to what you say: You acknowledged it at two several Times.

Mac. What did I acknowledge?

Judge. You say that you came to *Dublin* to settle your Estate: By your own Examination you acknowledge, That the Castle of *Dublin* was to be surprised by your self.

Judge.

Judge. It is now Time we should draw to the Jury: You hear my Lord *Bramstone* and my Brother *Finch* here justifie it to you.

Then my Lord *Mac-Guire's* Examination was shewed to my Lord *Blaney*, being present in Court, demanding whether he thought it to be *Mac-Guire's* Hand or no?

Lord *Blaney*. It is my Lord's own Hand, he hath written to me many Letters.

Mac. I don't think I have written many Letters to your Lordship.

Judge. Gentlemen of the Jury, you may go to the Business; If there were nothing but that you see in this Case, but what is in the Examination, if you believe it to be his, his Confession does acknowledge it: You hear this by the Testimony of my Lord *Bramstone*, and my Brother *Finch* expressly, that were present when he did acknowledge it, and set his Hand to it; and yet you see, though it is here proved by my Lord *Blaney*, he denies it. If you find this to be true, here is Treason enough, and too much too; for he does here confess, That *Roger Moore* did acquaint him, That if the *Irish* did rise, they might make their own Conditions for regaining their Lands: And he acquainted him, That he had spoken with sundry in *Leinster*, that would be ready for that Purpose; and that a great Part of *Conaught* would do the like: And then moved him (this Lord) the Prisoner at the Bar, to join likewise with him, which he did; so then was the Plot. The next Day they met; he goes to *Moore's* Chamber again, where Col. *Mac-Brian*, *Macmahone*, and others, had Discourse again about it: Then he says, That they did send over to *Owen O Neale*, to acquaint him concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, then in Preparation. He confesses expressly, That being demanded why the said *Owen* should bring over Arms, seeing the Castle of *Dublin* was to be surprised? He answered, That they so provided Arms, that they might not want any Thing, if they should not take it, whereof they doubted. And then you have him acknowledging, that the Castle of *Dublin* was to be surprised by himself, and Captain *Brian O Neale*, and others. These Words shew here expressly, That the Day whereon the Execution was appointed, by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* own Confession, he was come to *Dublin* for the Surprise of the Castle. So that it is apparent, that he was about this Plot expressly. If this be true, That you did conspire to make War or Rebellion within that Kingdom, though you were taken your self before it was executed, yet it was your own Conspiracy: And besides, endeavouring after that to bring it to Perfection, by sending over for Arms; all these do discover your own Intention to execute it.

Mac. I confess it not, I refer my self to the Jury.

Judge. Gentlemen, you are to know, that to Conspire to raise a War, if any of that Conspiracy do Act it, as you see here Sir *Phelim O Neale* did,

did, if you observe the Testimony of my Lady *Caulfield*, he came and surprised the Castle of *Charlemont*, and then it was given out, that my Lord *Mac-Guire* had taken *Dublin*; so that though it did not take effect, that which is done by any, is Testimony enough.

Go together and consider of it.

Upon this the Jury went together, and staying a short Space, returned their Verdict, which was, That they found him guilty of all the Treasons according to the Indictment.

Clark. Connor Mac-Guire, alias *Cornelius Mac-Guire*, thou hast been indicted for several high Treasons, and thou hast been arraigned. Upon the Arraignment thou hast pleaded, Not Guilty; and for thy Tryal hast put thy self upon thy Country, which Country have found thee Guilty, according to the Indictment; therefore prepare thy self to receive the Sentence.

Mac. I desire to know by what Law?

Judge. The Law is well enough known: That is a Treason within the Statute without Doubt.

Mac. I was not tried by my Peers.

Judge. This is a general Exception, formerly annexed in your Plea: If you can shew some particular Cause also, you shall be heard.

Mac. I desire Counsel to advise me.

Judge. When you did put in a Plea therein, you had Counsel to advise you in your Plea, and to argue it: Now your Time is past for Counsel; you must have none assigned to pick Holes in the Indictment.

Mac. I desire the Court would consider of it, before they proceed to Sentence.

Judge. You offer nothing to the Court that is of any Difficulty: You had Counsel, whether you should be tried by your Peers, or the Jury here; which Jury are to try any Man under a Nobleman in this Kingdom.

Mac. I desire to know under what Seal you thus proceed against me; for I think you sit here by the New Seal.

Judge. What Seal do you mean? I sit here by Vertue of the Old, by Order of Parliament.

Mac. Under Favour, I conceive, that the Ordinance of Parliament for the New Seal, makes all done by the Old Seal to be void.

Judge. Here is nothing done but by good Authority, and the Parliament's Approbation.

Mac. I conceive the Ordinance for the New Seal cuts off all Proceedings of the Old.

Judge. My Authority is not cut off: I was made by the Old Seal, before there was any New Seal, and so I am continued by the Parliament; and the Parliament did take Notice that I have been allowed to sit. Besides this, there is nothing done in this Court by the New Seal: The Sheriffs are here by a Charter, and that comes in from Year to Year; and there is no Seal in Order of Execution.

Judge. Well, if you have nothing to say for your self, I am to pronounce Sentence, as I am a Minister of Justice. You have been Indicted here for several Treasons contained in your Indictment, as was here of late read unto you; and you have had a fair Proceeding, and very deliberately: For your Indictment came in about *Alballowmas* last, three Weeks or a Month before the End of the last Term, three Weeks at least. You then made a Question, whether you ought to be tried by your Peers in *Ireland*, or a Jury here? The Court did so far deliberate in it, as to allow you Counsel to plead with the best Advantage you could: And afterwards, this Term, there hath been two Arguments at the Bar on each Side; where hath been said as much for you as can be. The Court over-ruled that, and so you are tried by a Jury; and you had the Liberty to challenge them, and had all the Advantages that the Law will afford, and take all the Exceptions you could. Truly, for my part, I see that there is not any one of them for me to sway the Judgment: The Treason and the Offences that you are charged withal are very heinous, your Crimes very impious; great Destruction hath followed upon your Plot, which the Jury have found you Guilty of. What a mighty cruel War and great Devastation in that Kingdom? Most horrid to speak or rehearse! It is fitter for you now to bethink your self, what your Offences are, and prepare your self for Death, rather than seek to mask or put Colours upon those things which are so manifestly proved to all the World. And now you are found Guilty; and therefore there is no Contradiction or Gam-saying will avail you: You ought to repent, and pray to God to forgive that Offence whereof you are Guilty. The Judgment that I am by the Law to pronounce against you is this: *Connor Mac-Guire, Esq;* You being found Guilty of the Treasons whereof you are indicted, your Judgment is, That you shall be carried from hence to the Place from whence you came, that is, the Tower, and from thence to *Tyburn*, the Place of Execution; and there you shall be hanged by the Neck, and cut down alive, your Bowels taken out, and burnt before your Face, your Head to be cut off, your Body to be divided into four Quarters, and the Head of your Body to be set up and disposed of, as the State shall appoint: *And the Lord have mercy upon your Soul.*

After Judgment pronounced, the King's Council demanded of him, whether he would have any Ministers come to him, to prepare him for his End, and to advise him for the good of his Soul.

Mac. I desire none of them: But I desire I may be sent Prisoner to *Newgate*.

Counsel. His Reason is, because there are some Popish Priests there.

Judge. That cannot be: Your Judgment is to return to the Tower; where you may have Ministers (if you please) to return to advise you for your Soul.

Mac. I desire you, that some Gentlemen of my own Religion may have Access to me, to confer with me; and some who are my Fellow-Prisoners in the Tower, to speak with me in my Keeper's Presence.

Judge. You must name some Body in particular.

Mac. I desire to confer with Mr. *Walter Montague*. [Belike he knew him to be a Popish Priest or Jesuit.]

Judge. You must prepare your self to die against Saturday next.

Mac. I desire a Fortnights Time to prepare my self.

Judge. That is too long a Space, and I cannot grant it; but you shall have convenient Time.

Mac. I desire you, that I may have three Days Notice at least, to prepare my self.

Judge. You shall have three Days Warning; but however delay no Time to prepare your self.

Mac. I desire my Execution may be altered, and not according to the Judgment; and that I may not be hanged and quartered.

Judge. This lies not in my Power to grant: But here are some Members of the House of Commons in Court, and you were best address your self to them, that they may acquaint the House with your Desires.

Mac. I shall desire the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, so many as are here, to move the House in my Behalf, that I may have a Fortnights Time to prepare my self, and that the manner of my Execution may be changed.

Sir John Clotworthy. My Lord, I have been your School-Fellow heretofore, and have found some Ingenuity in you; and I have seen some Letters of yours, importing some Remorse of Conscience in you for this Fact; and I should be glad to discern the like Ingenuity in you still: And shall move the House, that you may have some Ministers appointed to come to you; and likewise acquaint them with your other Desires.

Then the Prisoner departing from the Bar, Mr. *Prynne* advising him to confer with some godly Ministers for the Good and Comfort of his Soul; He answered, that he would have none at all, unless he might have some Romish Priests of his own Religion.

To which Mr. *Prynne* replied, My Lord, these Romish Priests are the chief Instruments who have advised you to plot and perpetrate those execrable Treasons for which you are now condemned, and have brought upon you that shameful Judgment of a Traytor, the Execution whereof you even now so earnestly deprecated. Since then they have proved such evil destructive Counsellours, to you in your Life, you have great Reason to disclaim them with their bloody Religion, and to seek out better Advisers for you at your Death, lest you eternally lose your Soul, as well as your Life, for the Blood of those many thousand Innocents which have been shed by your Means. To which he, pausing a little, answered, That he was resolved in his Way. Whereupon another Lawyer said, My Lord, you were best to hear both sides. To which he answered, in an obstinate manner, I am settled on one side already, and therefore I desire not to confer with any other. And so departed through the Hall towards the Tower, the People crouding and running about to behold his Person.

After the Sentence pronounced against the Lord *Mac-Guire*, as before said, he petitioned the Parliament, as followeth.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament.

The Humble Petition of the Lord MAC-GUIRE;

Humbly sheweth,

Mac-Guire's
Petition to
be rehear-
ed.

THAT your Petitioner stands condemned for his Life, and adjudged to be drawn, hanged and quartered; The Performance whereof (he humbly conceives) in some more favourable manner, will be satisfactory to Justice. And forasmuch as your Petitioner hath hitherto enjoyed the Degree and Dignity of a Lord, which he humbly conceives your Lordships are well acquainted with:

In tender Consideration whereof, he desireth that your Honours would graciously be pleased, in Mercy, to mitigate the Rigour of his Sentence, and turn it to that Degree which most befits the Denomination he hath: And as he hath been looked on by the Eye of Justice in his Condemnation, so in this Particular he may be pitied, and have Mercy.

And he shall ever pray, &c.

Cornelius Mac-Guire.

But

BUT this Petition was rejected by the Parliament, and on *Thursday*, ^{Rejected his Petition.} *February* the 20th, he was drawn on a Sledge from the *Tower* through *London*, and so to *Tyburn*; where being removed into a Cart, he kneeled and prayed a while: After which Sheriff *Gibbs* spake to him, representing the heinousness of his Crimes, and the vast Number that had been murdered by that Conspiracy for which he was to suffer, and therefore exhorted him to express his Sorrow for it: In answer to which he said, I desire Almighty God to forgive me my Sins.

Sheriff *Gibbs*. Do you believe you did well in those wicked Actions?

MacGuire. I have but a short Time, do not trouble me.

Sher. Sir, it is but just I should trouble you, that you may not be troubled for ever?

Mac. I beseech you, Sir! trouble me not, I have but a little Time to spend.

Sher. Sir, I shall give you as much Time after, as you shall spend to give Satisfaction to the People; I do require you, as an Instrument set in God's stead here, to make an Acknowledgment to the People, whether you are sorry for what you have done, or no? whether it be good or no?

Mac. I beseech you do not trouble me; I am not disposed to give you an Account. Pray give me leave to pray.

Doctor *Sibbald*. Give Glory to God, that your Soul may not be presented to God with the Blood of so many thousand People.

Sher. You are either to go to Heaven or Hell; if you make not an ingenuous Confession, your Case is desperate: Had you any Commission or no?

Mac. I tell you that there was no Commission that ever I saw.

Sher. Who were Actors or Plotters with you, or gave you any Commission?

Mac. For God's sake, give me leave to depart in Peace.

Then they asked him if he had not some Pardon or Bull from the Pope for what he did: To which he only answered, I am not of the same Religion with you. And being further urged about a Bull or Pardon, said, I saw none of it: All that I knew, I delivered in my Examinations; all that I said in my Examinations are true; all that I said is right; I beseech you let me depart in Peace; and so not returning them any Answer to their Questions, he continued *mumbling* over a Paper which he had in his Hand, as he had done from his first coming. The Sheriff commanded his Pockets to be searched, whether he had no Bull or Pardon about him, but they found in his Pockets only some Beads and a Crucifix, which were taken from him: And then Doctor *Sibbald* said to him, come my Lord, leave those and acknowledge your Offence to God and the World; One drop of the Blood of *Jesus Christ* is able
to

to purge away all the heavy Load of Blood that is upon you; it is not your *Ave Maria's*, nor these things will do you any Good: But it is *Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata Mundi*. The Lord Mac-Guire seemed not to regard his Discourse, but read out of his Paper to the People as followeth.

Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet Mind, and with the marks of a good Christian, that is, asking Forgiveness first of God, and next of the World. And I do forgive (from the bottom of my Heart) all my Enemies and Offenders, even those that have an Hand in my Death. I die a Roman Catholick, and although I have been a great Sinner, yet am I now by God's Grace, heartily sorry for all my Sins, and I do most confidently trust to be saved (not by my own Works, but only) by the Passion, Merits and Mercy of my dear Saviour Jesus Christ, into whose Hand I commend my Soul.

And then added, *I beseech you Gentlemen, let me have a little Time to say my Prayers.*

Sher. Sir, If you Answer ingenuously to those Questions we shall ask you, you shall have Time afterwards. Whether do you account the shedding of the Protestant Blood to be a Sin or not? And whether do you desire Pardon of God for that Sin?

Mac. I do desire Pardon of God for all my Sins; I cannot resolve you in any thing for my Part.

Sher. You can tell what your Conscience dictates to you; Do you think it was a Sin or not?

Mac. For my Part I cannot determine it.

Sher. Then now it seems nothing to you to kill so many?

Mac. How do you mean killing of them? To tell you my Mind directly, for the killing I do not know that, but I think the *Irish* had a just Cause for their Wars.

Sher. Was there any Assault made upon you? Had you not entred into a Covenant? Had you not engaged by Oath your self to the King?

Mac. For *Jesus Christ's* sake, I beseech you to give me a little Time to prepare my Self.

Sher. Have pity upon your own Soul.

Mac. For God's sake have pity upon me, and let me say my Prayers.

Sher. I say the like to you, in relation to your own Soul; Whether you think the Massacre of so many Thousand Protestants was a good Act? For *Jesus Christ's* sake have pity upon your own Soul.

Mac. Pray let me have a little Time to say my Prayers.

All this while his Eye was mostly upon his Papers, mumbling over something out of them to himself; whereupon one of the Sheriffs demanding

manding those Papers of him, he flung them down: They were taken up and given to the Sheriff, and a Copy of them hereafter follows. They ask'd him further, whether there were not some Agreement with the Recufants here in *England*? Whereunto he answer'd, I take it upon my Death, I do not know that any Man knew of it; and after some other such like Talk, the Sheriff bidding him prepare himself for Death, He said, *I do beseech all the Catholicks that are here to Pray for me, I beseech God to have mercy upon my Soul.* And so was Executed.

A Copy of the Papers which the Lord Mac-Guire carried in his Hand to the Place of Execution, which were delivered to the Sheriffs.

A Letter of some of the Friends of the Lord Mac-Guire, who (it seems) intended to attend him to the Place of Execution.

Mac-Guire's Papers carried in his Hand to Execution, directing his devotion.

Most Loving Sir,

MY Master his Coach shall wait on you infallibly. That Day your Friend William shall go by Coach all the Way, upon a Red Horse, with a White Hat, and in a Grey Jacket, and then you cannot choose (by the Grace of God) but to know the Coach, of two whitish Horses, and then you may do, or shew that Token only, as to lift up to your Face your Hand, nodding (or inclining down) your Head, and there shall go two or three (divers) Coaches for the same Purpose, and be sure to have plenary Physick as you desire. I send you this holy Stone, by Virtue whereof you may gain a plenary Physick, in saying any certain Prayer. I beseech you, dear Sir, be of good Courage, for you shall not want any Thing, for that happy Journey, and offer you your self wholly for him, who did the same for you. Pray earnestly for your Country, and for your own Sons, that God may prosper them. I do humbly intreat you to pray for me, your own poor afflicted Servant,

Your poor Gray.

You shall do well to send your Letters to Morrow to that young Man that comes to me, and the Wooden Cross that I have sent there of late; I beseech you send me Word, whether the Reliquary that came along with those two Crosses was your's or you Companion's, Mac-Mohun Hugh.

This was in the Margin of the Letter, as it were a Postscript.

These Words following were in an Irish Character,

Mo mhile beannacht chugad u mbic mhanma.

In English.

My Thousand Blessings unto you, Son of my Soul.

The

The following PAPER was only in *Latin*, but here *Englisht verbatim*.

Beloved Son in Christ, believe Almighty God, who governs all the World by his eternal Providence, hath appointed this Way to thy Salvation, and this manner of Death, though he could have brought thee to the Land of Bliss, by another Way, knew this to be more expedient. Therefore (my Son) thou shouldst suffer this kind of glorious Death which thy God hath ordained for thee, with an elevated Mind, yea, thou shouldst desire it; certainly this kind of Death is a great mercy of God; Is it not a special Gift of God, to have a certain Time of Sorrow and Repentance for Offences committed? Oh! with how great a Desire did the kingly Prophet, David, wish that he might know the Length of his Days! Expostulating this with God, Make me, O Lord, to know my End, and the Number of my Days. This kind of Death is granted to many, who rather with a perverse Mind, and by an unforeseen Death fall to suffer everlasting Punishment, Psal. 36. David being weary of the Miseries and Dangers of this present Life, said, *Wo is me! because my Pilgrimage is prolonged, as if the Time of his Banishment seemed long; besides Paul says, O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of Death, Rom. 7. And out of Living in the Land of the Living he said, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Therefore (my Lord) bear this death which now hangs over head with a quiet Mind, for Christ died for you;*

CRedo Dilecte in Christo fili) Deum optimum, maximum, qui Mundum hunc universum æterna quadam mentis provisione moderatur; hanc Salutis tuæ Viam, et hunc modum moriendi, Statuisse: qui quidem quamvis te ad felicitatis patriam alio tramite ducere potuisset, magis hoc tibi expedire præcognovit. Ergo (mi fili) hoc genus gloriosum mortis, quod Dominus Deus sic tibi ornavit, erecto animo perferas, quinetiam exoptes. Certè hujusmodi mors magnum Dei beneficium est; Nonne speciale Donum Dei est, habere certum tempus dolendi et pœnitendi de offensis commissis contra suam Divinam Majestatem? O! quanto desiderio exposulavit sibi dari certum et notum vitæ suæ spatium Regius Propheta *Davidus*, Expostulans a Deo sic! Notum fac mihi Domine finem meum et numerum dierum meorum. Hoc genus mortis enim quamplurimis est concessum, qui perverso potius animo improvisa morte ceciderunt, pœnas daturi sempiternas. *Davidus* pertæsus miseras et pericula præsentis vitæ, dicebat, Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, quasi longum illi videretur tempus exilii. Beatus *Paulus* dicebat, Infelix Ego, quis me liberabit à corpore mortis hujus? Et ex desiderio vivendi in terrâ Viventium, dicebat, Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Ideo (mi Domine) hanc mortem quæ tibi jam imminet, æquo animo pro Christi

sto acerbiter pro te mortuo, feras, *Therefore fervently meditate with the*
 hanc, amarissimam Christi mortem *Eyes of your Heart, upon this bitter*
 tormenta, & cæteris oculis tui cor- *Death of Christ; and his Torments.*
 dis ferventer me dictare. Vide, — *See, —*

These Lines following were written on the back-side of the Paper,
 part of it being before torn, and no more brought by him than
 what is here.

—gni sui te promoveret, & di-
 cas, In manus tuas Domine com-
 mendo Spiritum meum, redemisti
 me Domine Deus Veritatis: Tu me
 creasti Deus meus, Tu me redemisti:
 Pater sanctissime totus sum tuus, fi-
 at in me Voluntas tua, illumina ocu-
 los meos, ne unquam obdormiam in
 morte. Beatam Mariam invoces in
 auxiliatricem dicendo, *Maria Mater*
gratiæ, mater misericordiæ, tu nos
ab Hoste protege, & in horâ mor-
tis suscipe, Invoces etiam sanctum
Michaelm Archangelum, & Ange-
lum Custodem, & sanctos Patronos,
& demum omnes Sanctos, ut inter-
cedant pro te & adjuvent te suis
Suffragiis, & meritis. Recites etiam
hæc verba: Domine Jesu Christe,
credo quod Deus meus & Redemp-
tor meus es tu, & credo firmiter
quicquid Sancta Ecclesia Catholica
proponit credendum, & in hæc pro-
testor me velle vivere & mori. Do-
mine Jesu dolet mihi, quod tantam
bonitatem offenderim, & dolet quod
amplius non doleo de offensis contra
te Creatorem & Salvatorum meum,
cogitatione, verbo, & opere &
omissione perpetratis, & humiliter
peto mihi, condonari per sanguinem
tuum quem pro mea salute profu-
disti. Et si quod oblitus sum, vel

—his Kingdom shall move thee, and
 say, Into thy Hands I commend my
 Spirit, Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord
 God of Truth; Thou hast created me,
 O my God, Thou hast redeemed me, O
 most holy Father. I am all thine, Let
 thy Will be done in me; illuminate
 mine Eyes that I may never sleep in
 Death: Thou shalt invoke blessed
 Mary for thy helper, saying, Mary
 the Mother of Grace, the Mother of
 Mercy, do thou protect us from the
 Enemy, and receive us in the Hour of
 Death, thou shalt invoke also Saint
 Michael the Archangel and the Angel
 thy Keeper, and the holy Patrons, and
 lastly all the Saints, that they may
 interceed for thee and help thee with
 their Prayers and Merits: Thou shalt
 also recite these words, O Lord Jesus
 Christ, I believe that thou art my God
 and my Redeemer, and I firmly believe
 whatsoever the holy Catholick Church
 propounds to be believed, and profess
 that I will live and die in this Faith.
 It grieves me that I have offended so
 great Goodness, and it grieves me that
 I can grieve no more for my Offences
 committed against thee, my Creator and
 Saviour, in Thought, Word and Deed,
 and by Omission: and I humbly be-
 seech thee to pardon me by thy Blood,
 which thou hast poured out for my
 I i Salvation;

Salvation; and if I have forgot any thing which hath offended thy Majesty, or do not know it, I desire to know it and repent it. And in the mean time I ask Forgiveness of all, and likewise for thy sake do from my Heart pass by all Offences whereby others have offended me, also I pray them to forgive me, and if I have detained any thing from any Man, my Heirs shall make Restitution to them to whom it is due.

non cognosco quod Majestatem tuam offenderit, de eo illuminari cupio & pœnitere; & interim de omnibus veniam peto: Omnibus qui me offenderunt ex Corde meo, & similiter omnes offensas propter te dimitto, & si quem, ego offendi, precor etiam veniam mihi dari, & si aliquid alicujus est apud me, volo satis facere per Hæredem meum, omnibus quibus Debeo.

The Copy of another Paper, containing a Direction for his Devotion in his Passage to and at the Place of Execution, sent from his Ghostly Father with the former.

Jesus IHS Maria.

In your Passage to Execution, remember as followeth.

*To think on our Lord carrying his Cross to Mount Calvario.
Or on the proper Meditation against the Devil's Temptation.
Think that the Pain is short, the Reward Eternal and Everlasting.*

*Have Mercy on me, O God, &c.
Lord not in thy Wrath.*

*Our Father.
Hail Mary.*

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded in thy Justice.

By the Mystery of thy holy Incarnation, O Lord deliver us.

Sanctifie me with the Spirit of Christ.

Thou sought'st me being weary.

I humbly pray.

O holy Angels.

We fly to thee for Aid, O holy Mother of God.

Remember, O Maker of all things.

*Miserere mei Deus, &c.
Domine ne in furore tuo.
The first penitential Psalm.
Pater noster.
Ave Maria.*

In te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum in tua Justitia.

Per Misterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ libera nos Domine.

Anima Christi sanctifica me.

*Quærens me sedisti lassus.
Oro supplex.
Sancti Angeli.*

Sub tuum præsidium confugimus sancta Dei Genetrix.

Memento rerum Conditor.

Remember

Remember the Promises of God, That none shall be tempted, &c. Call upon me in the Day of, &c. Come to me all ye that be heavy, &c.

*When you come to Newgate make your Token for an Absolution.
When you come to the Place of Execution, do as followeth.*

*O Domine Jesu Christe adoro te
in Cruce, &c.*

Ave dulcis Mater Christi, &c.

Domina mea sancta Maria.

Nunc dimittis Servum Domine.

Miserere mei Deus.

Quærens me sedisti lassus.

Oro supplex & acclivis.

Tu Fons Misericordiæ.

*O Lord Jesus Christ I worship
thee in the Cross.*

Hail sweet Mother of Christ, &c.

O holy Lady Mary.

Lord now let thy Servant depart, &c.

Have Mercy on me, O God.

Thou sought'st me being weary.

I humbly pray on my Knees.

Thou art the Fountain of Mercy.

*Pray for the Church of Ireland, M. Greà. say, Jesus Maria three times
for an Indulgence, also a Pater and an Ave and Jesus Maria three times for
the same end.*

*Then make either of these Tokens, stretch out your Hands in form of a
Cross or (if you cannot do so) join them together before your Breast, with a
Handkerchief, twisted about your Hand (with Sorrow for your Sins, and ear-
nestly desiring Absolution of the Church) and God will absolve you.*

*Before you make this Token, settle on your Desire, and say, I desire an
Absolution, &c. and say, Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti, I confess me to Al-
mighty God, and then make your Token.*

** Then say, O Amabilissima bonitas! Confiteor Deo, with Sorrow for
your Sins, and settle your Heart earnestly to desire an Absolution from the
Church (and I desire an Absolution) make your Token (or Mark) of lifting
both your Hands to your Face, and letting fall your Handkerchief, God will
absolve you.*

*After that pray for your Enemies and Persecutors, and forgive them from
the bottom of your Heart.*

*Then willingly resign your self wholly to the Blessed Will of God, and
trust only to be saved by the Merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

Then say these Words following (publickly) that you may be heard.

*“ Since I am here to die, I desire to depart with a quiet Mind, and
“ with the Marks of a good Christian, that is, asking Forgiveness first
“ of God, and next of the World. And I do forgive (from the bottom*

*This was
written
but cross'd
out again,
and ano-
ther Paper
pinn'd up-
on it, writ-
ten in ano-
ther man-
ner, which
also doth
follow.*

** This
Paper
was pinn'd
upon that
which was
crossed
out.*

“ of my Heart) all my Enemies, Offenders, even those that have had an
 “ hand in my Death.

Say moreover.

“ I die a *Roman Catholick*, and although I have been a great Sinner,
 “ Yet am I now (by God's Grace) heartily sorry for all my Sins. And
 “ I do most confidently trust to be saved, not by any of my own Works,
 “ but only by the Passion, Merits and Mercy of my dear Saviour Jesus
 “ Christ, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.
 Offer all thy Sufferings to our Saviour in Union of what he suffered.

Lastly say,

*O Lord Jesus Christ.
 For that Bitterness.
 Thou sought'st me being weary.
 I humbly pray on my Knees.
 Thou art the Fountain of Mercy.*

*Domine Jesu Christe.
 Propter illam Amaritudinem.
 Quærens me sedisti lassus.
 Oro supplex & acclivis.
 Tu fons Misericordiæ.*

Resign your self willingly and wholly to God.
 Upon the Ladder make your Sign for an Absolution, and say, *I desire
 with all my Heart an Absolution from my Mother the Catholick Church
 for my Sins.*

Sir



Sir Phelim Roe O Neale's Patent to Brian Mac-Guire, Esq; to be Governour of the County of Fermanagh, Dated the 10th of May, 1642.

FOrasmuch as for the great Trust, Confidence, Fidelity, and circum-
 spective, conscionable, righteous Care and Diligence we repose in
 our trusty and well-beloved Friend and Cousin, *Brian Mac Cobonogh Mac-
 Guire*, of *Clanawley* in the County of *Fermanagh*, Esq; have by these
 Presents Constituted, Nominated, Ordained and Appointed, like as by these
 our Letters Patents do Constitute, Nominate, Ordain and Appoint him
 the said *Brian Mac Cobonogh Mac-Guire*, to be our Governour, in and
 throughout the whole County of *Fermanagh* aforesaid, hereby granting
 and giving him full Power and Authority to execute, fulfil, perform and
 do, all such Act and Acts, Thing and Things whatsoever; to the Place,
 and Office of Governour any Ways appertaining, as well for the Com-
 mon Good, as for the upholding and maintaining of his Majesty's Pre-
 rogative, his Crown and Dignity. And the upholding and maintaining of
 the ancient Holy Catholick Roman Religion, hereby also ratifying, allow-
 ing and confirming all such Act and Acts, Thing and Things whatsoever;
 by our said Governour done and performed, according to the true pur-
 port, meaning and intent of these our Letters Patents during our Pleasure,
 in as ample and large manner as if we had done the same in our own pro-
 per Person. Given under our Hand and Seal this eleventh Day of *May*.
 Anno Dom. 1642.

Phelim O Neale.

For *Brian Mac-Cobonogh Mac-Guire*,
 Governour of *Fermanagh*. These.

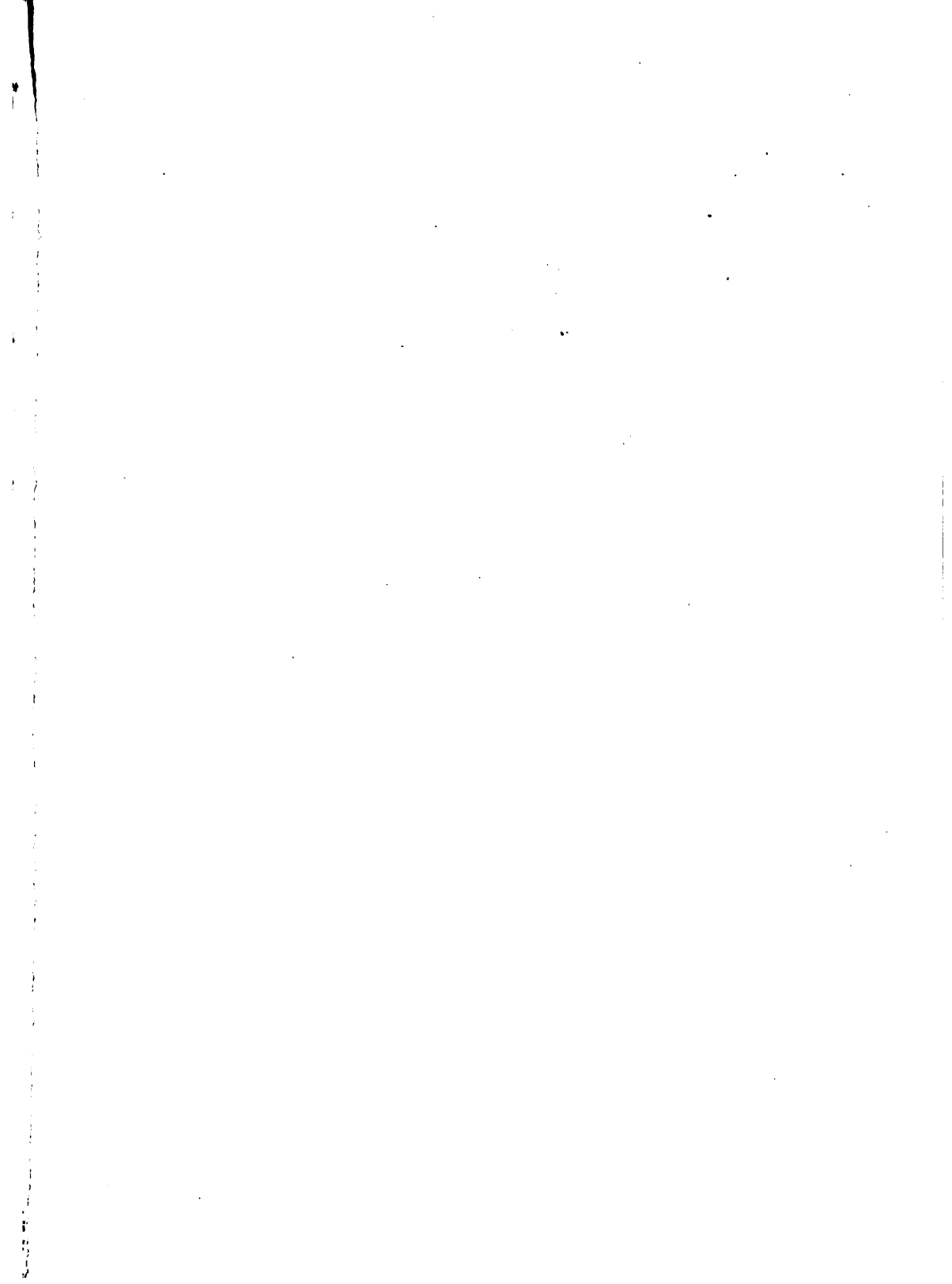
Copia vera.

William Cole.

F I N I S.



7



**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

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B'D DEC 15 1914

